

APPENDIX
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ART. I.—*Einleitung in das Neue Testament, &c.*
Introduction to the New Testament, by J. G. Eichhorn. Vol.
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THE author of this work has long been celebrated for acuteness, liberality, and depth of theological research. To every subject which comes before him, he brings the most profound and varied erudition. His mind is too vigorous and robust to be fettered by the narrow prejudices of any particular system; and his love of truth is too strong to suffer him to conceal the truth which he discovers, however opposite it may be to any established creed. It is only from minds so constituted and from hearts so disposed, that we can expect the numerous errors which have been incorporated with the prevailing religious systems to be exposed, and the religion of Christ to be maintained in all its purity and truth.

We are required as Christians to be able to give to every one who requires it, a reason of the hope which we cherish in our hearts. Now this injunction necessitates investigation, and investigation not narrow and partial, but full, comprehensive and unrestrained. As long as truth only is the object of our search, that search cannot be too laborious or minute. For nothing can be considered as of trivial moment which relates to a truth of such vast and incalculable importance as that of the Christian religion. And conscious that that religion is inherently and substantially true, though it has been mingled with such a diversity of corruptions, and disguised or rather deformed by such a variety of

interested artifices, we need not be afraid of enquiring too far ; for the farther we enquire, the more shall we recede from the associated errors, and the nearer shall we approach to the unadulterated and resplendent truth. The old saying that all is not gold which glitters, is true in respect to most of the prevailing systems of christianity, in which the outside glitter and superficial tinsel will be found the device of man, while craft has cast a veil over that which is really the work of God. The web of mystery and the gewgaw of ceremony have been employed to obscure the moral lustre of the gospel. The grovelling wit of man has been substituted for the unspotted irradiations of the universal mind.

That blessed doctrine, on obedience to which the righteous ground their hopes of a happy immortality, is contained in what are called the four evangelists, in its best, its purest, and its simplest form. Hence it becomes a matter of supreme importance to know from what sources these writers derived their information, whether they were eye-witnesses and ear-witnesses of the facts and the discourses which they relate, or whether like other historians, they compiled their several accounts from the most credible authorities, and the most satisfactory documents which they could procure. In the discussion of this question, we do not mean to include the evangelist John. He appears to stand on a very different footing from the rest. There are marks of an eye-witness and an ear-witness in him which are not quite so palpable in the others. The few miracles which he relates, are exhibited more in detail, and with a more vivid enumeration of particulars. The discourses which he delivers seem not only more copious and minute, but tinged somewhat more with the characteristic manner, with the hallowed emphasis, the impressive energy, and the commanding authority of the teacher of righteousness. We do not say that these marks are not very perceptible in the other evangelists ; but in John they are more forcibly felt, and more vividly seen. The discourses in his last chapters seem almost as full and particular as if they had been written down as they flowed from the mouth of the holy Jesus. They are so majestic, awful, and yet blended with such a sweet effusion of charity, that while we are reading them we seem to breathe the air of Heaven. We are persuaded that it is the voice of no terrestrial being which we hear ; but that the spirit of God is speaking through the mouth of man.

Allowing then, as we do most conscientiously, the originality of John to be clear beyond dispute, we shall, per-

haps, if in the course of our enquiry we see reasons sufficient to impress the conviction, be induced to believe that the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke were compiled from such sources and documents as appeared to them most worthy of belief. That various memoirs or short summaries of the life and doctrine of Jesus were written and published anterior to our canonical gospel, is a matter of historical notoriety, and is even distinctly acknowledged in the preface to the gospel of Luke. The principal design of the oral preaching of the apostles, and of the first written accounts of the ministry of Jesus, was to prove that he was the Messiah. Nor could this preaching or these accounts well take a different direction. For a native Jew had established the new religion. To Jews that religion was first made known; by Jews it was first taught, and the persons to whom it was taught, were Jews. It was necessary therefore, in order to support the new religion, to shew that it was the natural and predicted progeny of Judaism; and that the new dispensation was in spirit and in substance such as the prophets had imagined and foretold. The apostles could expect to make no converts, but by an historical and prophetic deduction that Jesus was the promised Messiah, whose doctrine was to produce that improvement in the religion and manners of the people which the prophets had so long announced. He, who was thus convinced that Jesus was the Messiah, was initiated into the new society by the baptismal rite. It was by this means that the apostle Peter made in one day 3000 converts, Acts ii. 22—36. It was after a similar instruction that Cornelius (Acts x. 37—41), the chamberlain of Queen Candace (viii. 31—39), the jailor (Acts xvi. 31—33) acknowledged the Messiahship of Jesus and were baptised. Hence to such an introduction to the Christian doctrine some account of the life of Jesus was requisite, and hence it was considered necessary that an apostle or immediate missionary of Jesus (Acts i. 21—22) should have been an eye-witness of what he had said and done, from his baptism to the period of his ascension. Without this qualification, how could an apostle in a satisfactory manner compare the history of Jesus with the prophetic delineations of the Messiah? This instruction was indeed most gratefully received from the mouths of eye-witnesses; but as it was not designed that christianity should be confined to the narrow confines of Judea, teachers soon became necessary who had not themselves been the associates of Jesus, and who were consequently obliged to appeal for the truth of what they asserted to the evidence of the apostles and

others, who had heard and seen what Jesus had said and done. Hence some written account of the points of greatest importance in the life of Jesus became necessary as a basis of instruction and a manual of the doctrine which they had to teach; and hence probably originated the first brief narratives of the points of principal moment in his history.

To such a sketch of the life of Jesus, which was to serve as an historical formulary for the associates of the apostles, nothing more was requisite than a summary of those points in his life and doctrine, which, in that early age, were deemed essential to direct the faith and the practice of the Christian. These accounts, without making any mention of the conception and birth of Jesus, or any circumstances of his life previous to his ministry, appear to have begun with his baptism, and to have ended with his resurrection (Acts x. 37—41. Comp. i. 21. 22). And as they were the compositions of men illiterate and unexercised in the arts of composition, they were drawn up without any historical plan, any artificial or elaborate representation, but tending in the most direct manner to prove that Jesus was the expected Messiah.

We still possess four biographical narratives of Jesus under the names of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John; but it must immediately strike us that these formularies could not be those, which were designed as a manual of instructions for the assistants of the apostles in the functions of their mission. For these narratives do not appear to have been rude or hasty sketches; and they in some measure contain parts of the life of Jesus, which had no place in the primary memoirs. Besides this, the use of at least the three first gospels in their present form did not begin till the close of the two first centuries. For till the end of the second century all the fathers of the church whose works have come down to us, made use of gospels very different from the present; and though they may in many parts agree with the three first canonical gospels, they were not the same identic compositions.

Anterior to any mention which history makes of the gospel of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and others with which we are acquainted either from tradition or from fragments, there are traces of a gospel of the Hebrews (*Evangelium secundum Hebræos*, *Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἑβραίων*). This was used by Ignatius, according to Jerom; and according to Eusebius by Papias and Hegesippus, who wrote in the beginning of the second century, and who do not quote any of our present gospels. This circumstance justifies us in ascribing a

very high antiquity to the gospel of the Hebrews. In the most antient times it was without exception denominated *Εὐαγγέλιον καθ' Εβραίους*, *Evangelium secundum Hebræos*. And as the title *Evangelium secundum Matthæum*, *Marcum*, &c. designates the gospel which Matthew, Mark, &c. had written, so the *Evangelium secundum Hebræos* must undoubtedly signify a gospel which Hebrews had composed; but still it is a point of uncertainty who these Hebrews were. But in the interval between Origen and Jerom, it was called not only 'secundum Hebræos,' but 'secundum XII. Apostolos.' Thus the tradition of a later period seems to have defined that, times which more likely to have known, appear to have left obscure and indeterminate. This title was probably affixed in order to increase the authority of the work. From the beginning of the third century our present canonical gospels had acquired a general and exclusive consideration, and only the party of Nazarenes and Ebionites adhered to the gospel according to the Hebrews. It is not improbable therefore that they might have been tempted to ascribe to this gospel the venerable names of the XII apostles, in order the more readily to defend it against the objections of the catholic church. The title which this gospel generally bore in the time of Jerom, *Evangelium secundum Matthæum*, is still more destitute of truth. In proportion as the fathers lived later, they pretended to know more, and spoke with less hesitation of the more early transactions of the church. But the name of Matthew was probably given to this gospel because it had a closer resemblance to the present canonical gospel which bears his name, than to any of the rest.

This is certain, that the oldest gospel according to the tradition of the earliest periods of the church was composed by Hebrews; but it does not appear to have been known who those Hebrews were. But of this gospel 'secundum Hebræos', the farther we go back, the more general we find the use. Justin Martyr shews no acquaintance with any but the memoirs of the apostles, *ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων*, which, if they were not the same as the gospel of the Hebrews, had a nearer resemblance to it than any of our present gospels. The fathers before Justin Martyr never speak slightly of the gospel to the Hebrews, as of an apocryphal book. Hegesippus employed it in his writings, (Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. 22), and from it Papias derived the history of the adulteress, Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. 39. In the earliest remains of the Christian fathers, we find traces of the gospel to the Hebrews. These traces begin with Papias, and run through Ignatius, Hegesippus, and Justin Martyr, to Origen,

Eusebius, and Jerom. The language in which this gospel was written, was the Aramean, or a mixture of the Chaldee and the Syriac, which was at that time the popular dialect of Palestine. This was one of the causes which led to its gradual disuse, except among the small party of the Nazarenes or Ebionites, with whom perhaps the gospel long retained more of its original simplicity than with any other sect of christians. Of this gospel, notwithstanding the two translations which were made by Jerom into Greek and Latin, only a few scattered fragments have survived the wreck of ages. These passages are produced by Eichhorn, and compared with corresponding passages in our present gospels. This gospel Eichhorn supposes at first to have contained only a brief recital of the most important particulars in the life and doctrine of Jesus, such as were most necessary for the teachers to inculcate, and for the hearers to retain; but it was afterwards enlarged by successive additions, and a more copious enumeration of particulars. Eichhorn concludes his remarks with saying, that, whatever may be our sentiments with respect to this gospel in other respects, it is indisputably true, that the most antient gospel which history records, was very different from the compositions of our present canonical evangelists.

Another gospel, which had a considerable approximation to our present Luke, existed in the beginning of the second century. It was ascribed to Marcion, the chief of a numerous sect of the Gnostics, and was long after his death received by his followers, who rejected our present gospels. Marcion, like some moderns, urged the separation of Christianity from Judaism, and rejected the divine authority of the Old Testament. He and his followers were accordingly assailed with every opprobrious epithet which the Catholic church could accumulate, and he was accused with more bitterness than truth of altering the writings of the New Testament, in order to favour the system which he espoused. His gospel incurred the holy anathema of the strictly orthodox. Though it had a near resemblance to that of Luke, yet it differed in various particulars, which Eichhorn details with his usual industry, accuracy and erudition, which he discusses with the most judicious and enlightened criticism, and proves in opposition to the commonly received opinion, that the gospel of Marcion, instead of being a mutilated copy or corrupt abridgment of Luke, may fairly claim the honour of an original composition. Instead of the gospel, which is ascribed to Marcion, having been a perverted copy of that of Luke, it is far more probable, and indeed, from the statement of Eichhorn, almost certain, that Luke founded his gospel principally on the basis of that of Marcion. Eich-

horn has collected the remaining fragments of Marcion's gospel, which he has compared with the parallel passages in Luke; from which he infers that Marcion was neither acquainted with the gospel of Luke nor with any other of our present canonical gospels. Justin Martyr (who was born A.C. 89; died 165) a Samaritan of Flavia Neapolis (Naupluse) in Palestine, who from a heathen philosopher was converted into a zealous christian, and who may be reckoned among the earliest christian writers, nowhere quotes our present existing gospels, which he does not appear to have known; a circumstance which deserves particular consideration, as he had spent many years in his travels, and passed a considerable time in Italy and the lesser Asia. But, in his *genuine* works, whatever he quotes concerning the life or the discourses of Jesus is taken from a work entitled 'απομνημονευματα των Αποστόλων' (memoirs of the Apostles). And that these απομνημονευματα, 'memoirs,' meant not our present gospel but one individual gospel which went by that name, is clear from this, that in his dialogue against Tryphon (p. 227 ed. Colon.) the Jew speaks expressly of one gospel in the singular number: εν τω λεγομενω ευαγγελιω παρχγγεληματα, &c. 'In that gospel,' says he, 'which you mention, the commands which are delivered are too hard to be observed.' Eichhorn supposes the 'memoirs of the Apostles' to have furnished the principal matter for the gospel of Matthew. It bore a considerable affinity to what was called the gospel of the Hebrews, and the old fathers of the church found so much resemblance between our present Matthew and the gospel of the Hebrews, that many formed the precipitate conclusion that both those gospels were the same work and differed only in the language. But, as far as we can judge from the fragments which are found in Justin, the απομνημονευματα, or memoirs, differed from the gospel of the Hebrews, in beginning with some account of the birth and infancy of Jesus which were not mentioned in the gospel of the Hebrews. In this respect the memoirs agreed with the gospel of Matthew, which also differed from the gospel of the Hebrews in containing an *evangelium infantie* which was wanting in the latter. But the narrative of the life and doctrine of Jesus in the memoirs, appears to have been a more hasty production than that of Matthew. There was more brevity and less connection and particularity of detail. As Marcion's gospel was an imperfect Luke, so the memoirs of the apostle were an imperfect Matthew. As the conclusion of our present Luke was wanting in the gospel of Marcion, so the conclusion of our present Matthew appears to have been wanting in the memoirs of the Apostles.

The learned critic next gives an account of the gospel of

Cerinthus and of Tatian's harmony; and then proceeds to examine the gospel which was employed by the apostolical fathers; and, after a minute and highly erudite induction of particulars, he determines that all the biographical notes of Jesus, which were most current in the two first centuries, were essentially different from our present canonical gospels. It is, we know, the general opinion that the apostolical fathers abound with citations from Matthew, Mark and Luke: but criticism pure, enlightened and impartial, is not to be warped in its judgments by popular prejudice or a traditionary creed; it avows without timid hesitation, and it maintains with rational confidence, those results to which it is led by patience of research directed by the torch of erudition. The apostolical fathers from Barnabas and Clemens of Rome, down to Polycarp, introduce in their writings texts which are palpably different from those of Matthew, of Mark and of Luke. Eichhorn has collected all the passages in the apostolical fathers, which are commonly supposed to have been taken from our present gospels. It would lead us into too great prolixity of detail to enumerate all that he has said on this subject; but we believe that his observations will carry conviction to the mind of every reader, not already too much biassed in favour of a particular system to be convinced. Theologians are too apt to measure the validity of a creed by the quantity of personal emolument with which it is connected; such persons we fear will not listen to any evidence, which makes against their own interested notions. The light of truth, however pure and resplendent, finds difficult admission into their hearts. We speak of the men of narrow minds, and of corrupt hearts, who will no doubt revile those conclusions of Eichhorn, which they cannot so easily overturn, and will perhaps vent against us, who have made the English reader acquainted with the substance of his work, every species of invective which malevolence, or ignorance, can supply.

Though we may not be able to shew the particular written accounts from which Barnabas, Clemens of Rome and Polycarp, derived their quotations, yet we know that they were not taken from our present catholic gospels; but the citations of Ignatius were literally borrowed from the gospel of the Hebrews; and those of the other fathers were probably taken from gospels which, though lost, were in circulation in the two first centuries. Our present canonical Matthew was unknown to Cerinthus and Justin Martyr; our present Luke to Marcion; and Tatian had no knowledge either of Matthew or of Luke. This use of gospels different from our present was so widely diffused and so

generally prevalent, that even in the fifth century, Tatian's Diatessaron, which was principally founded on the gospel according to the Hebrews, was in use in many churches which followed the apostolical doctrine; and about the year 423, Theodoret found many copies of this work in the churches with which he was more particularly acquainted.

All these gospels had much in common with our present canonical gospels, Matthew, Mark and Luke, as those gospels have much in common with each other. In the fragments of the above gospels, which still remain, they appear as parts of a trunk which ran into two principal branches, from which each again sent forth some smaller shoots. To one of these principal branches, from which sprung the gospel of Matthew, belonged (1) the gospel according to the Hebrews, (2) the gospel of Cerinthus, (3) the memoirs of the apostles mentioned by Justin Martyr, (4) part of the evangelical harmony of Tatian; to the other branch, from which proceeded the canonical Luke, belonged (1) the gospel of Marcion, and (2) another part of the evangelical harmony of Tatian. But the trunk itself, which gave rise to these two principal branches, appears to have been the brief biography of Jesus, which was prepared as a guide for the teachers of the new religion, a manual of what Jesus had said and done, the work probably of sudden exigency, rather than of deliberate reflection. This original document, which formed the basis of the gospels which were used by the early fathers, was throughout more brief, and less particular than the three canonical gospels, but it was also in the accounts, which the former had in common with Matthew, Mark and Luke, more scanty and imperfect, though the verbal relationship, which had its origin in a document or original which was common to all, could not be mistaken. As the apostles and their associates, in their instructions to the people, began their relation of his life with the beginning of his ministry, the earliest gospels, as those of the Hebrews, of Marcion, and of Tatian, contained no account of the genealogy, birth and infancy of Jesus. As the original document was prepared by men, who had little pretensions to literature and little acquaintance with the arts of composition, it must have been very scanty, rude and unfinished in its representations; and thus a more brief and imperfect text pervaded all those early gospels, which appear to have been in the possession of the more early fathers. But these scanty and unfinished productions were successively enlarged with more full and perfect details. Various additions were made to the copies of the same gospel; or what was omitted in one was supplied by the more ample and circumstan-

tial narrative of the other. The memoirs mentioned by Justin, and the gospel of Cerinthus, exhibited the genealogy, nativity and infancy of Jesus, respecting which nothing was said in the gospel according to the Hebrews, or in the productions of Marcion and Tatian. In the same manner, in parallel passages, we find particular parts augmented by continual additions. Thus, for instance, the voice from heaven at the baptism of Jesus originally ran; *υιος μου ει συ' εγω σημερον γεγεννηκα σε*, 'thou art my son; to-day have I begotten thee.' Other accounts described the voice in these words; *συ ει ο υιος μου ο αγαπητος, εν ω ηυδοκησα*, 'thou art my beloved son in whom I am well pleased.' Thus the words are read in our present canonical Mark. In the gospel of the Ebionites, as the passage has been preserved by Epi- phanius, both the representations of the voice from heaven are united into one; *συ μου ει ο υιος ο αγαπητος, εν σοι ηυδοκησα και παλιν' εγω σημερον γεγεννηκα σε*, 'thou art my beloved son in whom I am well pleased; and again; to day I have begotten thee.' By this continual amplification, the original text of the biography of Jesus was sunk in a multitude of additions, till it almost disappeared. Hence it at last happened that truth and falsehood, what was genuine and what was spurious, accounts which had been perverted and falsified by long tradition, began to be blended into one heterogeneous mass. This appears to have induced the church, at the conclusion of the second century, or the beginning of the third, to select out of the many gospels which were then in circulation, four which had the strongest marks of truth, and were best prepared for general use, in order to prevent the total obscuration of the truth or perversion of the simplicity of the gospel; and to deliver to posterity an account of the life and doctrine of Jesus, with the least possible alteration. On these four gospels, to which the preference was thus given, the church impressed the seal of its exclusive approbation, and the rest rapidly lost their influence and fell into disuse. Thus our present gospels were originally approved by the church, not because they were deemed inspired compositions, but because of the many human compositions, which then existed on the same subject, they were deemed the best. This appears to us to furnish the most rational, probable and satisfactory account of the origin of our present gospels, which we have ever seen. It extricates the subject from all the labyrinth of perplexity, in which it is entangled by the theory of inspiration. It accounts for the few dissonances, which are found in the relations of the different evangelists; for by supposing them human compositions, it necessarily infers that they are subject to error; and that, like the other works

of man, they partake of the imperfections of humanity. It appears from what has been said, that about the time when the church conferred on the four canonical gospels, the honour of its exclusive approbation, a multitude of gospels were in circulation, with which from the additions made by successive enquirers, in which curiosity often supplied the place of evidence, much fictitious matter had been mingled; and that those four gospels were selected because they contained the most full, comprehensive, and detailed relation of the life and doctrine of Jesus, blended with the smallest quantity of traditionary or fabulous matter, and represented the precepts of christianity, and the actions of the founder with the utmost simplicity and truth. This account of the origin of the four canonical gospels at the same time, instead of depreciating, increases their authority. For though it considers them as human compositions, it supposes them to be acknowledged by the general suffrage of antiquity, as compositions in their kind of the most consummate accuracy and the highest excellence. Eichhorn, like our own learned, acute and highly meritorious scholar, and theologian, Herbert Marsh, supposes an original document which constituted the common basis of the three first gospels, which common document was enriched with information derived from other sources, and augmented with facts and discourses which farther enquiry had enabled them to collect.

Since no traces of our present Matthew, Mark, and Luke appear before the end of the second and the beginning of the third century, and since Irenæus (about the year 202) is the first who speaks decisively of *four gospels*, and imagines various reasons why the number was limited to four, and since Clemens of Alexandria, (about the year 216) industriously scraped together all the accounts which he could find of the origin of these four gospels, in order to prove that these only should be acknowledged as genuine, it is a self evident proof that at the conclusion of the second or the commencement of the third century, the church was anxiously labouring to bring these gospels into general repute, and to procure for them a more distinguished and exclusive consideration. It would have been fortunate for christianity, as it would have prevented much cavil, perplexity, and doubt, if those, who selected our present gospels for an exclusive circulation, had at the same time introduced by public authority the original document or short account of the life and doctrine of Jesus, which was imparted to the first missionaries, in order to serve at once as the guide and the pledge

of what they taught, without any of the alterations or additions of succeeding times. But this was perhaps then hardly possible, as no copy was extant which was entirely free from these additions : and there was not at that time critical sagacity sufficient to draw the line of distinction between the original matter, and the subsequent additions. But still we should not forget the singular obligations which we owe them for preserving not only one, but three of the biographical accounts of Jesus, which were prepared from this original document. By this means they have rendered it possible for us even after the lapse of so many ages to separate the original life of Jesus from all subsequent additions, and from the same to recompose a life of Jesus purified from the traditions of a later period, and to answer a variety of questions to which it would have been impossible to make a satisfactory reply without the possession of the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, which were formed on the basis of the same original. To these questions,—in what manner was formed the most antient biographical notice of Jesus? in what manner so many gospels arose, the resemblance of which is so striking, and the basis of which must have been the same? whence the four catholic gospels which were so old and derived from apostolical times, did not come into general use till so late a period? The answers which the fathers of the church give to these questions are futile and absurd; and we must either entirely renounce the solution of the difficulty, or endeavour to unravel the perplexing knot by a nice, accurate, profound, and critical comparison of our gospels with each other, and with those fragments of the more antient gospels which are still preserved in the writings of the fathers; but, in this process of critical dissection and research, we must make a distinction between the gospel of John, and the three first gospels. The former is as different from the latter in purpose and in quality, in words and in spirit, as the east is from the west; the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, have the closest resemblance, and must have had their origin in some document which was common to all; but that of John has no dependance on the rest, and preserves the air of an original composition.

The discovery of an original document of the three first gospels will be found of the most essential service in our theological enquiries. First it shews what were those parts in the life of Jesus, which the first teacher of christianity considered the most important to be inculcated and known. The miraculous conception of Jesus is founded only on the two first chapters in Matthew and in Luke, particularly on

Matthew i. 20. and Luke i. 35. The apostles (says Eichhorn) knew nothing of the miraculous conception; it was an addition to the history of Jesus which was made in a later period, when those, who were imbued with the philosophy of Greece, or who had been reconciled to the human divinities of heathenism, wished to aggrandize the founder of the new religion by a supernatural nativity. But, in that original document, which served as the basis of the other gospels, no mention was made of a miraculous conception; Jesus was called the son of Joseph and of Mary. The original gospel, which constituted the basis of Matthew and of Luke, made no mention of the conception, birth and youth of Jesus; and it was not till a later period, in which we could expect no authentic account on these subjects, that the original gospel was enlarged with these exotic additions; and, though they may have some real basis, they have been so embellished with traditionary fictions that it is impossible to separate the few particles of true history from the dense mixture of fabulous narration. From the enquiry, which Eichhorn has so laboriously prosecuted, into the origin of the three first gospels, he asserts that there are few writings of antiquity respecting which more fictions have been circulated. But ought we to wonder that the external history of these books is almost entirely lost? The gospels of the three first evangelists arose from the combination of documents which previously existed, the first basis of which was founded merely on the present exigency, and what followed was intended principally for the use of particular individuals, friends and acquaintance. Can we hence with any probability assume that the three first evangelists were at their first appearance known to many persons, or that they were in general circulation? For the same reason the writers little imagined that those productions would descend to posterity, which they had designed only for the use and put into the hands of particular persons, who were sufficiently acquainted with the design of the author and with the credibility of his narrative. The authors accordingly were not solicitous to give their works such a form as would most recommend them to a general reader, or satisfy the demands of a late posterity. On this account not one of the writers has given any distinct or characteristic information of his own history, of the period of his life or composition. Matthew is only by the subject, tone, and manner of his narrative, known to be a Jew, but hence we learn nothing individual or determinate respecting him. Mark appears to have been a person acquainted both with Jews and Heathens, with the manners and practices of both; but he leaves it entirely undeterminate whether he were a contemporary or an

eye-witness of the facts which he describes; and was not a more accurate knowledge of the author necessary in order to enable us to form a correct estimate of his gospel? Luke furnishes a few more characteristic traits, but still only such as in general teach us that he was a contemporary with the early times of Christianity; who merely gives a narrative of what Jesus had said and done, which he had derived either from the information of eye-witnesses or from the most credible written documents. But does this enable us with any certainty to appreciate the value of his gospel? The evangelists were not so dull as not to know how much depends on the name, the character and circumstances of him who writes a history: still less did they wish to deceive by omitting a more close and characteristic delineation of their persons. Impostors are more wont to aggrandize their importance, and magnify their pretensions. They are willing with as much force and clearness as possible to represent themselves as the persons for whom they wish to pass, and to procure credit for the antiquity to which they pretend by traits in their writings which cannot be mistaken. And would the evangelists, if they had been impostors, or assumed a character to which they had no claim, have adopted a conduct quite the reverse of this, and have no where accurately delineated who they were, on account of the cheat which they designed to practise? Does not this silence prove that they were simple and unsuspicious writers, whose object was merely local or personal, who did not write for posterity so much as for certain known individuals and places?

The innocent simplicity, which is so visible in the narration of the evangelists, the plain, easy, and undisguised manner in which they detail the precepts and transactions of Jesus, prove them to have been artless and honest historians, who had no intention of magnifying the hero of their history; but who represent every thing which he said or did exactly in the way in which they believed it to have been said or done. With whatever admiration the evangelists might regard Jesus as their lord and master; with whatever feelings of veneration or of love they might consider the dignity of his character, the sublimity of his destiny, or the excellence of his doctrine, we never find them adopt the tone of vulgar panegyric. We hear no exclamations of praise, no bursts of rapture, no animated eulogy. They relate without any ornament in a cold and homely diction, the precepts, the actions and the fate of Jesus. The only one among them who introduces any remarks or reflections on his life is Matthew; and what remarks, what reflections? There are none on the grandeur of his actions, the divinity of

his doctrine, or the majesty of his character, but remarks which merely tend to prove that he was the Messiah who had been so long promised and expected. And were those remarks different from those which were made in every account of the Christian religion which was to obtain new proselytes to the new religion among the Jews? And were they not necessary to be made in any gospel which was intended for the instruction of the Jews? But as they were less necessary among the heathen, we find them omitted in Mark and Luke. And is not the exact agreement of their narrative with the times in which they lived and wrote, and with the circumstances in which we suppose them to have written, an irrefragable proof of their veracity? No one has yet arisen, who has in this respect convicted them of falsehood; and till this is done, we may boldly affirm their truth.

There are several strange and marvellous appearances in their historical relations, which do not consist so much in the events themselves; as in the peculiar mode of representing them, in the light in which they were seen, in the popular idiom in which they are expressed, or (as in the case of the *Demonides*) in the popular superstition and vulgar creed with which they were incorporated. These are improprieties in the representation which are quite abhorrent from our present sentiments and modes of historical narration; but we cannot expect that all times should be alike in their views and judgments of events, or in their mode of representing them. There are many occurrences in the gospel, which, dark and perplexed from the manner in which they are detailed, might have had a clear and definite sense to some of the more enlightened contemporaries. It is indeed difficult for us, who live in times in which the combinations of ideas and the modes of belief are so different from what they were then, to draw the right line of distinction between the real events and the popular idiom under which they have been disguised. But we must remember that the evangelists did not write for us, or design their compositions for our use. They could never imagine that their narratives, which were originally drawn up for the sole use of particular individuals (as we see in the preface to Luke's gospel,) would after the lapse of ages be read in the greater part of the habitable world. If we find so many difficulties in the explanation of these writings, those difficulties should animate us to employ the greater diligence in the attempt, and incite us to exert every power of critical and historical research, which can throw any light on the important subject.

We have thus enabled our readers to form some idea of the nature and execution of M. Eichhorn's introduction to the best, the most consolatory and instructive of all books. His opinions will no doubt be found at variance with most of those who are called orthodox Christians; but the profession of orthodoxy, however loud and positive it may be, was never yet the test of truth. What is vulgarly called orthodoxy is little better than a determination to persevere in error, and to oppose a deaf ear to every argument which is opposite to that persuasion which is cherished by the feeling of present emolument or invigorated by the force of ancient prepossession. Such persons would no doubt readily purchase fire and faggot to consume M. Eichhorn and his works; but we are of opinion that religious truth can be established and religious error subverted only by discussion. And as we deem religious truth to be the greatest good, and religious error, as the opposite of that good, to be the greatest evil, we welcome with unfeigned pleasure every new work in the department of theology, in which the writer strenuously and honestly labours to elucidate the truth. Truth only is the object of our labours, the treasure dearest to our hearts; and we care not from what source it may come, or from what sect it may spring.

The hypothesis of M. Eichhorn is in the most essential particular the same as that of Mr. Marsh. Both suppose that there was an original document, which constituted the basis of the three first gospels; that this document was enlarged by successive additions; that some copies of it abounded more in details than others, and that this document has been more or less incorporated with the compositions of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. M. Eichhorn supposes, and indeed proves, that there were several gospels which were in general circulation anterior to those of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, whose compositions, with the gospel of John, did not receive the exclusive sanction of the church till the end of the second or the beginning of the third century. This late reception and notice of our present canonical gospels may be accounted for by the consideration that they were at first written for the instruction, or designed for the use of private individuals, that thus their circulation must for a considerable period have been confined to private families, before they were honoured with the seal of public approbation. At the end of the second century a great multitude of different accounts of the life and doctrine of Jesus was generally diffused throughout the christian world. These accounts were of greater or less authority; and blended in many cases with fabulous and tra-

ditionary matter. This caused the fathers of the church, out of the mass of existing gospels, to select four, which appeared to them to contain the most copious and authentic details of the transactions and precepts of Christ, with the fewest spurious or unauthorised additions. This supposition, which is supported by the evidence of fact and the inductions of probability, instead of weakening, tends greatly to strengthen the authority of our present gospels, considered as human compositions. The exclusive sanction with which they were honoured, instead of being the effect of prejudice, was an honest and unbiassed tribute to their superior credibility and truth. Hence, though of the many accounts of Jesus, which once existed, we may regret that some have perished, we ought to be grateful for those which still remain, whose excellence we have every reason to believe is considerably greater than that of those which have been lost. Some small quantity of merely traditionary or less credible matter may be blended with the former; but this is small indeed, compared with the mass of the narratives, in which we discern the more than golden ore of genuine, unvitiated truth. We conclude with anxiously hoping that some able theologian will undertake an answer to the arguments and statements of the present work, of which we have given so copious a detail. Whenever such an answer may appear, we will review it with the same candour, the same seriousness, and the same regard for truth, with which we have perused the work of the learned professor of Gottingen. We will endeavour to prevent any prejudices of any kind from giving a false bias to our judgment; and we will, with all that frankness and ingenuousness which we deem so necessary in the censors of literature, confess whether we think that the palm of victory ought to be adjudged to Eichhorn or to his antagonist.

ART. II. *L'Enéide, traduite en Vers Française, &c.*

The Æneid, translated into French Verse, with Remarks on the principal Beauties of the Original. By J. Delille. 12mo. 4 Vols. with the Text. 4to. 2 Vols. without the Text. Paris. 1806. Imported by Deconchy.

IT is unfortunate, though it is not surprising, that all the languages of modern Europe should scarcely supply us a translation that represents the character of its original. But it is surprising, as well as unfortunate, that all the enthusiasm with which the literature of antiquity has been cultivated, should have produced so few translations of any emi-

nence even for independent merit of their own. It could scarcely be expected, that the same genius which created in Greece or Rome the great works we admire, should be revived in a later age to copy them to other nations; but it might have been hoped, that, among the multitude of men of every description of talents, who have devoted their lives to the study of ancient literature, there might have been found not a few of superior abilities, who would delight in the endeavour to re-create to their own country the genius of antiquity, as an offering of their veneration, as a proud indulgence of their enthusiasm. And a philosopher, who, at the revival of letters, had foreseen the growth and diffusion of that ardour, with which the minds of men were then turning to the reliques of antiquity, who had foreseen every future worshipper of the muses of poetry and eloquence, imbibing from those sources his earliest Pierian draught, and still returning to them at every period of his existence to recruit his enthusiasm, to purify his taste, and to drink in fresh inspiration for his own genius, would probably have predicted with little hesitation, that one of the noblest departments of modern literature, would be formed of our translation of the works of Greece and Rome. He would not have suspected that the transfusion of genius from nation to nation, was to be the drudgery of hirelings or the job-work of literary contractors; and that those men, the restoration of whose writings was the day-break of reason and refinement on a barbarous world, would be finally established among the nations they had civilized, in the occupation of solicitors of charity for lean-witted and half-starved authors.

We do indeed possess some few, some very few translations, in which genius has met genius, and the result has been an accession to our poetry or eloquence: but we can hardly name one, which represents the characteristic excellence of its original. It appears as if we must submit to be instructed by experience, and, while we consider a just copy of the finest ancient works, as among the greatest acquisitions that can be wished for to any language, must be contented to resign all eagerness at least of hope for its appearance, and to comfort ourselves with tracing, in what passes for indigenous literature, the features which the race has inherited from the fortunate admixture of that generous blood.

Yet there is one writer the want of whose works will always be in our eyes a more essential defect in the literature of a country. A translation of Virgil would present to us in blended beauty all the varieties of excellence, which are spread over the writings of the ancients. It would delineate

ate to modern Europe the loveliest of the souls, whose image has been spared to us from antiquity; and would enrich the language that possessed it with more of that highest poetry, the poetry of the feelings, than any other among the inspired of old has bequeathed to succeeding ages.

The eagerness with which the works of the Abbé Delille have been read and translated in most nations of Europe, the rapidity with which editions of them have been multiplied, and the height at which he has long stood in his own country among the fortunate candidates for literary honours, have raised a very general expectation of the high merits of his long announced translation of Virgil, and have perhaps led many to hope to find in it something like a supply of the great deficiency we lament; especially as the fondness with which the Abbé has always dwelt on the memory of Virgil, whom he invokes as his master, from whom he professes to have derived his poetry, and to whom he seems desirous to ascribe all his reputation, might well persuade them that the proud and grateful enthusiasm of a scholar would animate his efforts, and rouse his genius to the fullest exertion of its strength.

The fame of those former works, and, we might almost say, the anticipated fame of that which we are about to consider, seem to require of us a more scrutinizing investigation of its pretensions than its own deserts alone would have inclined us to bestow, or than they might perhaps even have justified. And before we proceed to bring into view the merits it does really possess, it is necessary, by a very copious display of its omissions of excellence, as well as its positive offences, to satisfy our readers that the honour of giving Virgil to modern literature must be reserved for a happier poet than Delille.

A just translation is obviously that which represents an author's thoughts in his own style; which reflects the forms of the original, and reflects them in their own colours; and a translator will be required to comply more or less with the strictness of this definition in proportion to the excellence of the work he translates. It would be idle to exact that, with the admirable thoughts of a writer, he should preserve his execrable style; or, when he alternates high merit with extreme absurdity, that he should pursue him through the windings of his folly, with the same steady fidelity with which he must follow the happier excursions of his fancy. In translation in general much will be left to the discretion of the translator; and we might name numerous works of interest and reputation, in which we should allow, or even require of him, a very spirited and liberal use of his discretionary powers.

But if there is one poet whom his translator must never hope to improve, to whose thoughts and whose style it is his wisdom to adhere, that poet unquestionably is Virgil. And if we at all succeed in imparting to our readers the feelings that have afflicted us in the examination of this translation, they must be satisfied that M. Delille has abandoned with dangerous presumption or carelessness, or most unfortunate incapacity, that guidance of his master; and that he has raised in the melancholy effects of his ignorance or indiscretion an instructive monument to that master's wisdom.

And now, observing at the outset, as a sinister augury of the whole, that M. Delille adopts the first four rejected lines, and that he opens the *Æneid* with

‘Moi qui, jadis, assis sous l’ombrage des hêtres,
Essayai quelques airs sur mes pipeaux champêtres,’

we proceed with somewhat heavy cheer to our critical investigation.

Among the characters of Virgil's style which make the earliest impression on the mind of his reader, are the nobleness which, through all the varieties of his subject, he unfailingly sustains—that simplicity and purity of Grecian taste which is not inconsistent with his studied beauty of expression—and that force and fidelity of descriptive language, which delineates to the eye of the reader every event he relates.

It must very soon strike the examiner of M. Delille's translation, that these are precisely the features in the want of which the general character of his work most effectually differs from that of his original; but it requires rather a laborious study of it to exhibit distinctly and satisfactorily any thing like the variety of inventions, by which this opposition of character is so accurately accomplished. We do not flatter ourselves that we have drawn up a complete view of this extraordinary operation, though we do trust that we shall give our reader a little insight into a few of its most important secrets.

One great effect of the style of Delille, which taints his whole composition from end to end of the work, is the perpetual use of abstract, metaphysical forms of expression. In Virgil, as in the writers of every nation whose taste is not very much vitiated by affectation, the persons who appear, think, act, and speak for themselves, after the usual manner of human beings. But in M. Delille, more than in any of the distinguished poets of his country, and they are none of them free from the fault, this is a privilege they are very seldom allowed to enjoy. It is usually some quality, or a feeling, or an act, or some very

abstract modification or accident of their existence, that is called upon to perform their most important and laborious duties. So that it sometimes happens that in a struggle in which their dearest interests are at stake, the principal parties concerned appear among the most tranquil and indifferent spectators of the contest, which is carried on with all imaginable fury and obstinacy, by properties, circumstances, and modes of being.

This appears very soon in the persecution of *Æneas* by *Juno*. These two illustrious personages remain in the most perfect composure. Not so the goddess's '*fiers ressentimens*' who '*troublerent si long tems LA HAUTE DESTINEE d'un prince magnanime, humain, religieux ;*' in which they were happily assisted by her '*haine insatiable,*' which prohibited *Ausonia*—not to the *Trojans* but '*aux grands destins de Troie.*' In the next line we find that '*l'inflexible Destin secondant son orgueil*' very much prolonged the exile of her enemies. Which conduct, it may be observed by the way, is rather surprising in '*l'inflexible Destin,*' as *Juno*'s party just before appeared in complete hostility to him; for those '*grands destins,*' if they are not himself in the plural number, must certainly be his ministers acting under his directions. Indeed he is altogether a very extraordinary character. On one occasion he actually grows *jealous* of *Creusa*'s affection for her husband, as we are told in plain terms, (*Liv. ii. 1057*;) and this is expressly stated to be the real reason why she was not permitted to accompany her husband on his travels: a fact with which we were never before acquainted. He frequently makes his appearance throughout the work, in lights very different from those under which the ancients had misrepresented him, and generally, it must be confessed, very little to his credit. (Thus *L. vii. 812.*) *Juno* completely triumphs over him; and it appears immediately after that even old *Latinus* had succeeded in wresting the reins of government from his hands, for he is declared in *v. 826*, to restore them to him; and what not a little increases the singularity of the transaction is, that he (for the good man is not without his eccentricities) is moved to do so by no other cause than the discovery that he has just been beaten by *Juno*.

To return from a digression which we trust the very curious information it contains will excuse:—the following are a few of the more exquisite forms in which this style of expression may be expected to appear for the admiration of the reader. '*D'une ardente jeunesse la haine curieuse autour de lui s'empresse.*' *Liv. ii. 89.* '*Des morts et des vaincus n'alarmoient pas sa gloire, Et la pitié devoit attendre la*

victoire.' xi. 147. 'L'austère prudence de Drances irrita les superbes chagrins de Turnus.' xi. 172. 'D'une déité la fière jalousie ferme à mon infortune et l'Europe et l'Asie.' Though it is not in every page we meet with expressions of such complicated ingenuity as these, or of such boldness as a 'lion's wandering hunger, which traverses fields and forests,' (x. 1075,) there are few pages in which specimens of some degree of interest are not to be found.

When every body goes about enveloped in such a cloud of qualities, modes, &c. it is no wonder that a man who is obliged suddenly to speak to another, should sometimes, without allowing himself time to recollect who is the actual person concealed within, at once address himself to some of the swarm of ideal beings that float around him, and which at first sight appear to compose his individuality. Thus when Æneas laments over Lausus, it is not surprising that instead of 'Heu! miserande puer!' he should address him by 'Assemblage touchant de grandeur et de charmes.'—If Jupiter harangues the gods, it must be very troublesome for him, who, as Lucian has recorded, was never very apt at pursuing long chains of reasoning, to be obliged to develop the real internal nature of the splendid apparitions about him, before he speaks to them: but the first glance satisfies him that he may safely call them 'Ornemens glorieux de ma cour éternelle.' If Venus is to supplicate her son, it is not likely that she will begin with the appellation 'Nate,' which she might have done if she had really seen her son, and only then add her terms of endearment and flattery—'meæ vires! meæ magna potentia!' The host of circumstances and qualities that dance round him is far too multitudinous. She begins therefore very naturally, by addressing several of them, 'O toi! l'honneur, l'appui, le charme de mes jours, enfant vainqueur des dieux, souverain de la terre!' &c. It is not wonderful either that the poet himself should sometimes in his haste, which often appears to be great, speak of living creatures by titles compounded of their qualities, on occasions where the image produced is not easy to the apprehension of minds less accustomed than his own to consider all things with the eye of philosophy. Thus, Liv. viii. 918, we have a she-wolf who 'Sur l'espoir naissant de Rome encore naissante Promène mollement sa langue caressante.'

Whatever may be the peculiar merits in poetry of this philosophical habit of viewing insensible objects chiefly their more remote and speculative relations, it is evident that a system of expression formed upon it is not very happily calculated to represent the style of an author who constantly exhibits real, living beings in motion and action; since

instead of a distinct and interesting picture, it can only fill the mind with a confusion of undefined, unfixed, and dim-discovered shadows. The same effect of obscuring and confusing the images of Virgil, is produced by a device, somewhat akin to that we have just described, which, though it may appear, when stated, so trifling as to be almost harmless, is found, if skilfully applied, or employed with sufficient perseverance, not slightly efficacious. It consists in nothing else than simply making several nominative cases, with each a verb under its authority, start up in the course of a sentence, through the whole of which in the original, all the verbs were governed by one important noun.

A single instance will be sufficient to shew in what manner, from the want of this constant reference of all the actions to the agent; he entirely escapes from our eyes, when it is of consequence that he should be unceasingly and vividly before them.

When Volscens has slain Euryalus, Nisus rushes forwards to revenge his death. The followers of Volscens interpose, and surround and wound him.

—instat non secius, ac rotat ensem

Fulmineum : donec Rutuli clamantis inore

Candidit adverso, & moriens animam abstulit hosti.

It is curious to observe how completely the little operation of breaking the construction, will blot out from the passage, the striking picture of the wild resistless fury of the avenger.

‘Inutiles efforts ! le glaive furieux

Tourne rapidement dans sa main foudroyante :

Volscens pousse un grand cri : dans sa bouche béante

Le fer étincelant plonge, & finit son sort.

Ainsi l'heureux Nisus donne & trouve la mort.’ L. ix. 636.

The pictures of Virgil may further be got rid of, by substituting for the action a short statement of its signification ; or, as another resource, and not less effectual, by leaving out idea and image altogether ; as in the following instances :

‘Talibus Ilionei dictis, defixa Latinus

Obtutu tenet ora, soloque immobilis hæret,

Intentos volvens oculos.

Le roi l'entend d'un air profondément rêveur.’ L. vii. 347.

‘Talia vociferans sequitur, strictumque corusc at

Mucronem, nec ferre videt sua gaudia ventos.

Il dit, et ne voit pas, dans sa crédule joie,

Que l'air emporte au loin ses discours, & sa proie.’ L. x. 953.

We may close these remarks (though we are still far from having exhausted the subject) by observing that they apply almost solely to the description of—what is indeed rather an important part of an epic poem—the actions of living beings. In descriptions of motionless objects and inanimate nature, the translator is very liberal of descriptive language, as we shall hereafter have occasion to state more particularly.

There are some people who seem to labour under a cruel fatality, which brings forth from their very best intentions the severest injuries they occasion to themselves and their friends. The Abbé Delille is possessed, as we have already remarked, with a violent sense of his obligations to Virgil; and this, exalted by the tender affection which, in his capacity of a poet, he naturally felt for that illustrious member of the fraternity, determined him to some very signal exertion of generous gratitude. He proposes to introduce him to the admiration of his own world of admirers in France. But being apprehensive that the garb of that ancient might not make the most prepossessing impression on the eyes of his intended acquaintance, and himself perhaps a little ashamed of appearing in company with one so much his inferior in that essential point—(for though the raiment of the poet was of exquisite texture, and of wonderful purity and beauty of colour, being woven by the hand of the muses, and dipt in the hues of heaven, there was yet a simplicity and sobriety about it, that did not at all satisfy the Abbé's conceptions of dress)—he resolves at once to re-equip the poor poet, from head to foot, out of his own wardrobe. He has accordingly arrayed him in a profusion of splendour, in which Agamemnon, or Alexander himself, need not have disdained to appear on the French stage, in the days when magnificence and the scorn of costume reigned there in their pride. And to crown his generosity, he leaves the wondering spectator to believe, that all these fine things are actually the poet's own clothes: though with the secret consolation, perhaps, of conceiving to himself the doubled wonder of those who must guess whence the splendour came, because they were acquainted with his *protégé* in the meanness of his original indigence.

Thus in the very opening—*' Multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem, inferretque Deos'*—becomes,

*' Qu'en'imagina point la déesse implacable
Alors qu'il disputoit à cent peuples fameux
Cet asile incertain tant promis à ses dieux ?'*

and the line and a half which remain are converted into

six very sublime hexameters, of which the last is 'Et des vainqueurs des rois la ville impériale.'—Immediately after 'Urbs antiqua fuit—Carthago,' is nothing less than 'Carthage eleve au ciel ses superbes remparts.' Then 'Hoc regnum Dea gentibus esse—tenditque fovetque,' is exalted into 'là son superbe espoir Veut voir la terre entière adorer son pouvoir.' Pass but two lines, you find for 'Populum latè regem, belloque superbum, Venturum excidio Libyæ,' 'Un peuple de sa ville orgueilleux destructeur, Et du monde conquis vaste dominateur.' This little collection from the first two pages, will probably satisfy the reader of the sumptuousness of Virgil's new attire. We shall therefore only mark a few passages, which struck us because the circumstances so evidently and imperiously demanded the extreme of simplicity. Jupiter concludes a speech to the gods, informing them of his intentions, and in which every expression is concise, and every sentence short and simple, with 'Fata viam invenient,' that is to say 'Quelque soit leur succès, dans sa course indomptable Le destin atteindra son but inevitable.' L. x. 167. Which having said—'Stygii per flumina fratris Annuit,' by which one word *annuit*, you are to understand that 'Ratifiant du sort l'immuable sentence, Du décret éternel de sa toute-puissance, Par un signe de tête il avertit les cieux.' For there is almost as much meaning in the shaking of Jupiter's head as of Lord Burleigh's.—Turnus, in the council of Latinus, rises highly exasperated, and begins a speech full of indignation and vehemence. But he pauses from his passion, and as if he felt that the opinions of a senate in their grave deliberations of policy, were to be swayed not by a young man's violence, but by argument and conviction, he assumes the calm language of reasoning. The effect of all that part of the speech in which the fiery prince, suppressing the emotion of personal feeling, argues on the national interests with the temper and the views of a statesman, appears to us very happily conceived and executed. The style is admirably supported. We would particularly remark in the following lines, in which he states a maxim to which he wishes to give much weight, a philosophical calmness of expression.

'Multa dies, variusque labor mutabilis ævi
Rettulit in melius: multos alterna revisens
Lusit, et in solido rursus fortuna locavit.

Ignorons nous le sort, et ses jeux inconstans ?
Il détruit, il répare, il change avec le tems,
Et, jetant à son gré des fers ou des couronnes,
Des états ébranlés raffermît les colonnes.' L. xi. 617.

It does not appear to us that this fine flight of poetical fancy, is at all in the style of Turnus's ideas, either when he was in a passion, or when he wished people to believe that he talked common sense. Indeed we cannot easily persuade ourselves that it could enter into the head of any one person then in Italy on any one conceivable occasion.

One instance more, when Æneas appears before Andromache in Epirus, she doubts if it be the living Æneas or his ghost. He answers,

'Vivo equidem; vitamque extrema per omnia duco:
Ne dubita, nam vera vides.'

whereas it appears he ought to have said,

'O comble de grandeur! ainsi que de misere!
Non! vous ne voyez pas une ombre mensongere.
Oui! malgré moi je vis et pour souffrir encore!'

What renders this tenderness of the Abbé for his poor friend more truly humorous is, that, by an unfortunate inadvertence in putting together this kingly apparel, there are occasionally some little interruptions of continuity in its gorgeousness, and the eye is let in on small strips and patches of some less princely manufacture. Was there a deficiency of the 'purpurei panni'? Were all his golden words spent, when there was suffered to intervene two royal paragraphs 'Tant de fiel entre-t-il dans les ames des dieux?' or, in the midst of magnificence, 'Hébé pour Ganimede essuyant un affront,' and 'La pourpre que l'aiguille a brodée a grands frais:' and the god of whom we are told that 'Un facile succès couronne son message:' and the other god who within thirty lines is 'le diligent Vulcain,' and 'le divin forgeron:' and the fury who we thought 'Cœli convexa per auras Junonem victrix affatur voce superbâ;' while in fact all that happens is that 'elle court a Junon raconter ses succès;' and poor Deiphobus,

'A qui le fer ravit, dans son malheur extrême,
L'organe de l'ouïe, et l'usage des yeux.
Son corps tout mutilé n'est plus qu'un trou hideux;
Et son nez, disparu de son affreux visage,
Du fer deshonorant y marque encor l'outrage.' L. vi. 636.

There are certain concurrences of circumstances under which the disposition of ornaments becomes a more especial treat to those who are in the secret of this little history, and know what M. Delille would be at. Thus in the view of the arts of nations.

Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra,
Credo equidem, et vivos ducent de marmore vultus.
Orabunt causas melius; cœlique meatus
Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent.

To Virgil, Eloquence guarding the laws of a country, needed no ornament to fit it for poetry: the expression is as simple as possible. The office of Astronomy is only described, and it appears sublime. But to justify the introduction of mechanical arts, he covers them with his elaborate beauty of poetical expression. On which views of his subject M. Delille suggests the propriety of the following improvements:

D'autres avec plus d'art (cédons leur cette gloire)
Coloreront la toile, ou, d'une habile main,
Feront vivre le marbre, et respirer l'airain,
De discours plus flatteurs charmeront les oreilles,
Décriront mieux du ciel les pompeuses merveilles.

L. vi. 1160.

The fourth line may perhaps be ranked at the head of those (and they are neither few nor insignificant) in which M. Delille has successfully illustrated an important truth, that he who is to translate the work of a Roman, must begin by possessing a Roman soul.

The following class of expressions are more fantastic than costly; and seem employed rather in the way of taste than of magnificence. 'Cependant la déesse aux regards curieux, A la bouche indiscrete, a la course légère, D'Euryale immolé vient accabler la mère. L. ix. 684. A valley at once 'Roule l'or de Pactole, et l'or de ses moissons:' and Latinus saw in every rank, 'Briller du bien public la noble jalousie.' Ilionens too must have been pleased to find that 'Les Troyens, qu'enchanter son discours, D'un murmure flatteur lui prêtent le secours:' nor is it easy to fancy the delight of Dido, when instead of a 'monile baccatum,' she received 'Ces trésors arrondis, ces perles que l'aurore De l'onde orientale autrefois vit éclore.' Will not Sir Hugh Evans exclaim 'What phrase is this? It is affectations.'

After all these serious evils of style, it is hardly worth while to observe of the few metaphors which sparkle here and there, that they have not the air of being copied from Virgil; he having no parallel expressions, we believe, to 'faire éclore un fléau,' 'colorer un piège,' 'ma gloire rougit,' 'une armure stérile;' and not yet having been detected, in describing the gloom that involves the heavens and the earth, by

La nuit, du haut des cieux jetant ses crépes sombres,
Avec ses noirs habits, — et ses mains
D'un grand voile ont couvert les travaux des humains.' L. ii. 329.

Nor can it be even thought a grief of much importance, that we should occasionally find ourselves bewildered in a sentence of such dædæan clauses as

'——il dit, et d'un bras sanguinaire,
Du monarque traîné par ses cheveux blanchis,
Et nageant dans le sang du dernier de ses fils,
Il entraîne à l'autel la vieillesse tremblante.' L. ii. 758.

or our sagacity a little staggered at such as

'L'ombre à peine éclaireit son humide noir cœur.'

and

'Là, de plus belles nuits éclaircissent leurs voiles.'

To the consideration of the language, we shall add that of the versification, before we proceed to the higher characters of poetry. The versification of Virgil is not only the most harmonious we know, but at the same time the most expressive. Whatever feelings arise in the mind of the poet, the harmony of his verse obeys and expresses them as faithfully as the tones of an eloquent voice. It is soft or solemn, exulting or severe; it is fervid and troubled with passion, or faltering and dejected with the weakness of grief. And not only do these tones (if we may name them so,) add a wonderful charm to the words they clothe, but often before we can gather the idea of the poet from his language, they have filled the mind with his feeling. When Andromache exclaims 'O felix! una ante alias, Priameia virgo! Hostilem ad tumultum, &c.' who is there that conceives she is rejoicing in the happiness of another? Who does not feel in the slow-drawn solemn sounds, the expression of a deep and settled sorrow that sends forth its tones 'imo ex pectore?' The reader of the translation will be in no doubt about the meaning of the exclamation, for sufficient care is taken to inform him of that; but it is not from the versification he will learn it. She begins 'Que je te porte envie!'—We shall just cite two passages, in which a contrasted expression is required in two adjoining sentences, and where in the original the changing versification marks very happily the change of feeling, exactly at the division of the sentences. Dido apologizes to Ilioneus for the strictness of the measures that had alarmed the Trojans:

Res dura, et regni novitas me talia cogunt
Moliri, et latè fines custode tueri.

It has all the simplicity and modesty of an apology. But the versification rises with her feelings, when she proceeds to argue their security from the general reverence of men for the virtues and the woes of Troy.

' Quis genus Æneadum, quis Trojæ nesciat urbem,
Virtutesque, virosque, aut tanti incendia belli ?

De mes naissans états l'impérieux besoin
Me force a ces rigueurs : ma prudence a pris soin
D'entourer de soldats mes nombreuses frontières,
Qui ne connoît Enée, et ses vertus guerrières ? &c.' L. i. 787.

The chief difference between the two parts here, seems to be that the last line is the least magnificent of all, and that which immediately precedes it the most so. Just after, Æneas appearing from his cloud, addresses them,

' Coram, quem quæritis, adsum,
Troius Æneas, Libycis ereptus ab undis.
—O sola infandos Trojæ miserata labores,
Quæ nos, reliquias Danaum, terræque, marisque, &c.

Celui que vous cherchez, dont la faveur des dieux
A conservé les jours, le voici :—que de grâces
Ne vous devons nous pas, ô vous, que nos disgraces, &c.

L. i. 836.

M. Delille has acquired considerable celebrity for his versification, by his command of this expressive harmony. There is a passage in the '*Homme des Champs*,' which is written, like Pope's, avowedly to show that he is very skilful in the employment of it ; and a note on the passage, with an anecdote to prove that he has succeeded to admiration. It appears to us that in adapting the character of his versification to the description of objects of sense, he frequently has succeeded to admiration ; but that in adapting it to the emotions of the speaker, he has entirely failed : and that perhaps in some degree from not being very clearly aware of the existence of that sort of thing. For this varying harmony he seems to have substituted a general pomp of versification ; interrupted only at times by lines and passages of exceeding lameness and debility, and bearing altogether a very close consanguinity to what we have already remarked as the predominant character of his language.

It seems probable that the constant variations of style both in the language and verse of Virgil, as they are prompted by varying feelings, are among the circumstances which leave on the mind of the reader, an impression of his simplicity. It is the simplicity of truth and nature. The style of the translator is never suggested by his heart. It seems a style which he deliberately and systematically approves and adopts before he begins ; and having once resolved to support it, he does maintain it most magnanimously through all the tumults of passion that assault, and all the witcheries of feeling that lie in wait to seduce him. This appearance of an uniform predetermined style, which leads it-

self but moderately to the variations of emotion, must always give poetry an oratorical air, we might perhaps say more correctly in the present instance an air of declamation. For illustrations we are happy in being able to give the reader who may fall in with the translation a compendious reference to the ends of speeches, which in general rise regularly as they proceed, and if the subject be but a little more elevated than usual, are wound up at the conclusion in most magnificent *tirades* of eloquence.

Venus, in the council of the gods, declares that after all the misfortunes which the gods combine to heap on her Trojans, she perceives it is not the design of fate that Æneas should establish his kingdom in Italy, she resigns all the high hopes of her ambition, and only entreats that she may be permitted to save Ascanius. But then, she adds, what has availed them to have escaped from the flames of Troy, and from all the dangers of the ocean, if Italy is still refused them?

'Non satius cineres patriæ insedisse supremos.
Atque solum quo Troja fuit? Xanthum et Simoenta
Redde, oro, miseris; iterumque revolvère cusus
Da, pater, Iliacos, Teucris.'

It seems difficult to characterize more evidently than in the manner of the last sentence, the prayer of a mind, which has fallen from its high expectations, and, humbled by the experience of sorrow, dares scarcely to supplicate the little that may yet remain to be wished for, lest even that little should be denied. There is not much the manner of an afflicted heart in the eloquent declamation of DeMille:

'Non, ce n'est pas un trône ou les Troyens prétendent;
C'est le choix des malheurs que leurs pleurs vous demandent.
Rendez-leur les combats, rendez-leur les assauts,
Et la rage des Grecs, et leur mille vaisseaux,
Qu'ils puissent, en mourant, voir encor le Scamandre,
Combattre encor pour Troie, et mourir sur sa cendre.' L. x. 91.

Thus Dido in four lines, not particularly extravagant, desires Æneas to relate the history of his misfortunes.

'Immo age, et a primâ, die, hospes, origine nobis
Insidias, inquit, Danaum, casusque tuorum,
Errantesque tuos, nam te jam septima portat
Omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus æstas.'

But it is a queen that speaks, and she speaks to a prince; and moreover the lines are the close of a canto. We may therefore expect something much superior.

Enfin je ne veux rien perdre de votre gloire;
 Reprenez de plus haut cette importante histoire;
 ConteZ-moi d'Illion les terribles assauts,
 Et les pièges des Grecs, et leurs mille vaisseaux,
 Et vos longues erreurs sur la terre et sur l'onde,
 Car le soleil sept fois a fait le tour du monde,
 Depuis que, poursuivi par un sort odieux,
 Votre noble infortune a fatigué les dieux. L. i. 1053.

It is a character of some importance, in all the works of superior genius, that the feelings of the reader follow closely and steadily the feelings of the author from thought to thought, through the whole succession of his ideas. Because, through that whole series each successive conception arises out of the state of mind produced by other conceptions with which he was just before occupied: and in every reader, of course, in whose breast the sources of association are the same as in the poet's, these successive ideas—as strongly and distinctly painted to him in language, as they were strongly and distinctly conceived—will excite the successive feelings of the poet, and will discover to him step by step, in the changes of emotion he himself experiences, the operations of the poet's mind, and the reason of that peculiar order his thoughts have received. Now this is not only a great comfort to the reader, but it is evident also that the mere circumstance of the order of succession is a point of importance, towards judging the peculiar cast of the author's character. And on this ground a translator is bound to preserve it as nearly as his language and the necessity of rhymes will permit.

When it is further considered how much of the spirit of poetry depends on the associations marked by this succession,—that it is this rising of thought out of thought, and of feeling out of feeling, which gives its fervour to composition, which gives to poetry the language of nature, and, disclosing at every step, unforeseen, unsuspected combinations, makes each production of genius a perpetual succession of creations, it must seem no light duty that is imposed on a translator.

And when there is added to all this the consideration that if there is one poet who more than all others has delineated happily in his language the progress and transitions of thought;—who in the arrangement of his words, in the adjustment of the little clauses of each sentence, has studiously and with consummate skill assigned to every portion of thought its place, that poet is Virgil,—we may believe ourselves to have obtained a tolerably clear conception of the magnitude of the offence which we must now proceed to prove against the abbé Delille.

It is but justice to premise that the first instance we give is rather cruelly chosen, as it is a passage of considerable feeling, which is inevitably fatal to the present translator.

Æneas, the morning after an engagement, has been giving directions on different points of importance. He proceeds to the last, the burial of the dead.

* Interea socios inhumataque corpora terræ
Mandemus :

a simple direction, though the word *socios* seems to mark that he feels what he is speaking of.

* Mais, avant tout, il faut consoler la mémoire

(What is consoling a memory ?)

* De ceux qui de leur sang ont payé notre gloire,
Et dans leur triste asile accompagner leurs corps.

Delille's *Æneas* is fired at once with poetry ; he cannot be quiet ; his oratory invades him, and when he apparently intended to think merely of burying his friends, it crowds upon him images of memories to be consoled, of glory paid with blood, and of the melancholy asylum of corpses. The first thought that occurs to Virgil's *Æneas* after the simple direction to bury them, is the mournful reflection that this is the only honour remaining for the dead.

* —qui solus honos Acheronte sub'imo est.

Seule marque d'honneur qui reste aux sombres bords.

But now the subject is fully and strongly before his mind ; now his emotion and enthusiasm come upon him.

Ite, ait, egregias animas, quæ sanguine nobis
Hanc patriam peperère suo, decorate supremis
Muneribus.

How strongly and pointedly is the breaking out of passion marked in that '*Ite, ait!*' What then does he now say ? He repeats his direction. But he now speaks it in the language of enthusiasm ; the enthusiasm of affection, of admiration, and gratitude ; '*egregias animas, quæ sanguine nobis hanc patriam peperère—decorate, &c.*' And mark the progress : first, what all must feel, their character ; then the stronger and nearer feeling of their own obligation—'who with their blood have created us a home :' then '*decorate,*' which, after these expressions of emotion, marks him confident, from the ardour of his own feelings, of the solemnity, the devotion, the due rites of sorrow with which his warriors will perform the obsequies of their gallant companions. Now search out this in Delille.

'C'est leur sang qui pour nous conquiert une patrie :
Allez donc, et pleûrez sur leur cendre chérie.'

The outbreak of emotion is successfully concealed by throwing the 'ite' to the next line; and still more by the little ratiocinatory particle by which it is attended, 'Allez donc:' but the 'egregias,' the 'decorate,' have disappeared. In fact, M. Delille does not seem apt at apprehending a quantity of feeling involved in a single expression. It must be told him pretty plainly in so many words. Where all depends on the selection of two words and the position of a third, it is not likely to figure in the translation.

— Mæstamque Evandri primus ad urbem
Mittatur Pallas; quem non virtutis egentem
Abstulit atra dies, et funere mersit acerbo.

'Dans les murs, dans les bras d'un père malheureux
Remettons ce Pallas si grand, si généreux,
Qui dévoua pour nous sa précieuse vie,
Qu'un sort prématuré nous a sitôt ravie.'

And first, because most distinguished in his valour, and his claims to their gratitude and love, 'Mittatur Pallas.' This sentence rises out of the last. In Delille it merely succeeds him: Then how happily all this is crowned! The omission of 'mæstam,' by which the fine image of the mourning city is exchanged for the indication of the place to which he was to be borne: for 'Mittatur,' which is here a word of solemnity, 'remettons:' the trifling of 'dans les murs, dans les bras:' the vicious form of 'un pere:' the superfluous information that he would be distressed: the antique simplicity, modesty and beauty of 'non virtutis egentem,' exalted into the modern grandeur of 'si grand, si généreux:' and the melancholy disappearance of all the mingled beauties of 'Abstulit atra dies,' &c. If we had been at a loss for faults, we should carefully have separated this multitude, and distributed them to darken their respective divisions; but thanks to the Abbé's liberality, we have no need to husband our collection of errors:

Æneas describes the generous kindness of Dido,

'—quæ nos—omnium egenos
Urbe, domo, socias,—Grates persolvere dignas
Non opis est nostræ, Dido, nec quicquid ubique est
Gentis Dardaniæ—magnum quæ sparsa per orbem.'

The bitter reflexion which starts out of his expression 'quicquid ubique est,' is used merely to describe one of the elements of a calculation.

'Tous les Troyens épars dans l'univers entier
Ne pourroient de vos soins dignement vous payer.' L. i. 847.

This is a subject which might be successfully pursued, particularly through all the speeches without exception. There is not, we believe, one, in which the feeling and character is not to a considerable degree confounded and lost; to which this defect is always greatly assistant.

The 'Fortunati ambo'—is thus translated:

'Couple heureux ! si mes vers vivent dans la memoire,
Tant qu'a son roc divin enchainant la victoire
L'immortel Capitole asservira les rois,
Tant que le sang d'Enée y prescrira des loix,
A ce touchant récit on trouvera de charmes,
Et le monde attendri vous donnera de larmes.'

From the first quiet idea that his verses may be remembered, he starts at once to a most violent image, which requires an effort of the mind to conceive it, and which no man could have arrived at in a regular way without half a dozen previous ideas gradually rising one upon another; by which high conceptions his mind is so inspired with sublimity, that the next line is actually one of the poorest he has written. Then from these lofty and dilated imaginations of immortal capitols, dictated laws, and monarchs in chains, the transition is easy and natural to people finding charms in a touching recital. If the abbé should ever by any chance happen to compare his translation with the original, he may possibly observe that this is not the course of thought which Virgil has followed in this passage: and that, whenever he does go through the operation of bearing in mind from the beginning of a sentence through the midst of magnificent images, the idea with which he designs to conclude it, it is not while his heart is full of tenderness and grief.

Faunus predicts the future greatness of the descendants of Latinus:

——— 'quorumque ab stirpe nepotes
Omnia sub pedibus—quà Sol utrumque recurrent
Aspicit Oceanum—vertique regique videbunt.'

The effect of reserving, till he has filled the mind with the conception of a dominion conterminous with the earth; the 'vertique regique,' is not worth preserving.

'Dont les fiers descendans vaincront plus de contrées
Que l'astre étincelant des voûtes azurées
N'en découvre sons lui, quand du trône des airs
Il embrasse les cieus, les pôles, et les mers.' L. vii. 126.

The length to which our criticism has already extended, prevents our pursuing the abbé methodically through the rest of his misdeeds. We must content ourselves with indicating, by the selection of a few passages, some of the great principles of mistranslation which remain to be developed.

The mourners are standing round the bier of Pallas, Tuscans, and Trojans,

Et mæstum Iliades crinem de more solutæ—
Ut verò Æneas foribus sese intulit altis,
Ingentem gemitum tunsis ad sidera tollunt
Pectoribus, mæstoque immugit regia luctu.

'Mais au lit funéraire Enée à peine arrive,
Soudain de tous côtés sort une voix plaintive :
Et les pleurs, les sanglots, les plaintes, les regrets,
De leur deuil unanime ont rempli le palais.' L. xi. 179.

It will be particularly observed, that by not marking this burst of wallings and groans to the moment of Æneas's appearance, the whole meaning of the passage is lost, independently of other inventions, which are however exceedingly exquisite.

The manner in which the following passage is stripped of all its solemnity of adjuration, is extremely instructive.

Quod te per superos, et conscia numina veri,
Per si qua est quæ restat adhuc mortalibus usquam
Intemerata fides, oro miserere laborum
Tantorum, miserere animi non digna ferentis.

'Grand roi ! prenez pitié de mon destin funeste :
Par les dieux immortels, par la foi que j'atteste
Épargnez l'innocence, et plaignez mes malheurs.'

Liv. ii. 191.

Æneas, in his passage through hell, arrives at the region assigned to illustrious warriors. The Trojan chiefs crowd round him.

Circumstant animæ dextrâ lævâque frequentes;
Nec vidisse semel satis est : juvat usque morari,
Et conferre gradum, et veniendi discere causas.

All which is happily rendered in these two lines:

'De ces guerriers fameux en foule environné,
De leur nombreux cortège il s'arrête étonné.'

L. vi. 623.

In his prefaces and notes, he is perpetually speaking of

the sensibility of Virgil ; of which, it appears, he had very distinct conceptions.

'Talibus Alecto dictis exarsit in iras'—

'Alecton a ces mots redoublant de fureur'—

There was no 'fureur' before. She was the aged quiet priestess of Juno. But she bursts into rage, and is at once Alecto in all her terrors. However, she redoubles her rage, and

'D'un seul des ses regards le glace de terreur,
Arme du fouet vengeur sa main impitoyable ;
Ses serpens redressés,' &c.

A regular description of her person and proceedings: after which we are perfectly well prepared to hear that his 'levres sont sans voix, ses yeux sans mouvement.' Now mark how Virgil paints the first appearance of the Fury. He paints it in its effect on Turnus. She 'exarsit in iras ;'

'—At juveni oranti subitus tremor occupat artus ;
Diriguere oculi :'

then follows the object of his horror, 'tot Erinnyes sibilat hydris, Tantaque se facies aperit.'

The title Erinnyes, which marks the sudden change in her appearance, is omitted. The expression of the Fury, *hissing with snakes*—we are told that all her snakes hissed at once. The admired 'Tantaque se facies aperit,' he seems not to have troubled himself about. It does not appear. The effect of *tot* and *tanta*, we could not expect to have preserved.

In the lines that immediately succeed,

'Tum flammæ torquens
Lumina, cunctantem et quærentem dicere plura,
Reppulit,' &c.

The effect of throwing in the action of Turnus, into the midst of the description of the Fury's, which combines their actions, and forms the double description into one picture at one moment before the eyes, will not be found in

'Il veut la conjurer : la déesse l'arrêta,
Le repousse en fureur,' &c.

The 'verberaque insonnit' was of course too ignoble, and does not appear : but it is intended to be well compensated by the 'geminos angues' which are now 'Deux des plus noirs serpens qu'ait engendrés l'enfer.' For 'rabidoque

hæc addidit ore, one of the fiercest expressions in Virgil, we have '*puis d'un sourire amer,*' which is quite inconsistent with the situation. Her speech is a little tinctured with that self-conceit which appears, more or less, in most of the characters in M. Delille's *Æneid*.

'Regarde, et vois en moi la terrible Alecion,
La plus horrible sœur des filles de Pluton.

What is '*regarde*'? It is '*respice ad hæc*?' her scourge, and her snakes: the '*these presents*,' which authenticate her commission from hell.

*Olli somnum ingens rumpit pavor : ossaque et artus
Perfundit toto proruptus corpore sudor.
Arma amens fremit ; arma toro tectisque requirit.*

'Le prince épouvanté se réveille ; et soudain,
Se roule dans les flots d'une sueur glacée,
Il s'agite, il respire une rage insensée :
"Mes armes, mes amis ! mes dards, mes javelots !"

Now not to insist on the probability that he gave himself no time to roll about in sweat, but started up at once in his bed; even if it had been really the case, this rolling is not the image that was to be impressed on us: it is the bursting of the sweat from every pore. Where is '*arma amens fremit*?' is '*il s'agit*' meant for '*fremit*'? Where is '*arma toro tectisque requirit*'?

We are still obliged in conscience to give some specimens of our translator's talents at insertion: which may be conceived to be great and various, as the poem grows about one third in the translation. One source of this augmentation is in little explanations and commentaries which are versified. Sometimes the manner of doing a thing is described; sometimes the motives of an action are explained; sometimes we are entertained by the actor's own reflexions on what he is about; and sometimes we are indulged with the moral and philosophical conclusions that may be deduced from what we see going on. Thus when a person speaks, we are told it is '*d'un ton*' or '*d'un air majestueux*,' or '*d'un ton plein de noblesse*,' or '*plein de douceur*,' or '*d'un air flatteur*,' or '*d'un air de majesté*.' If *Æneas* desires *Achates* to hasten the execution of his orders, '*son ami court, docile à sa loi Remplir les vœux d'un pere, et les ordres d'un roi*.' If *Venus* is occupied with the invention of stratagems, we are left in no doubt of the cause: '*Toute fois, s'alarmant pour un héros qu'elle aime*.' If *Mezentius's* sword lies idle for a moment, we are let into its feelings; '*Son glaive à regret repose à ses cotés*.' On *Theseus's* single posture M. Delille thus muses

and moralizes. One, says he, perpetually revolving, 'voyage avec son roue.

'Un destin tout contraire
De Thésée a puni l'audace téméraire.
De ses longues erreurs revenu désormais.
Sur sa pierre immobile il repose a jamais.
C'est la son dernier trône. Exemple épouvantable!"

It is found to have a good effect, when people enlarge a little more on their feelings than Virgil has allowed them to do. They are indeed much more explicit. A very usual method of indicating that what they speak of distresses them, is by interjecting such illustrative ejaculations as 'O comble de douleur!' 'O catastrophe horrible!' 'O dès espoir!' 'O douleurs! O regrets! O destins ennemis!' Æneas, when he had ascended the hill and looked down on the rising Carthage, exclaimed.

'O fortunati! quorum jam mœnia surgunt,'
which having never yet been properly understood, he has since been at the pains of explaining it:

'Peuple heureux! vous voyez s'élever votre ville,
Et nous, dit le héros, nous cherchons un asyle.'

Sometimes however the feeling explained is one that we should conjecture was not in the mind of Virgil. When first the phantoms come swarming round Æneas, he lifts his sword, and if the sibyl did not inform him that they were spirits

'Irruat et frustra ferro diverberet umbras.

Marchons, dit la prêtresse et quittons ces lieux sombres.

Ce n'est pas aux héros a combattre des ombres.' L. vi. 383.

The present translation, so inadequate as a representation of Virgil, must however be regarded as a considerable accession to the literature of France. It is distinguished, like the other works of Delille, by a profusion of descriptive expression, and by a freedom of versification, much wanted in the poetry of his countrymen. They have already severe masters of their taste; and the chief obligation their style can yet owe to any of their writers, is probably to him who will force their language to bear the luxuriance of poetry, from which they above all nations seem to have been hitherto excluded. The following passage, with the exception of two or three weak lines, is of great merit.

'Il dit: et, du revers de son sceptre divin,
Du mont frappe les flancs: ils s'ouvrent, et soudain
En tourbillons bruyans l'essaim fougueux s'élance,
Trouble l'air, sur les eaux fond avec violence:

Le rapide zéphire, et les fiers Aquilons,
Et les vents de l'Afrique en naufrages féconds,
Tous bouleversent l'onde, et des mers turbulentes
Roulent les vastes flots sur leurs rives tremblantes.
On entend des nochers les tristes hurlemens,
Et des cables froissés les affreux sifflemens.
Sur la face des eaux s'étend la nuit profonde:
Le jour suit, l'éclair brille, et le tonnerre gronde.
Et la terre et le ciel, et la foudre et les flots,
Tout présente la mort aux pâles matelots. L. i. 127.

The concluding lines are excellent: and perhaps if there had been no living beings in the Æneid, the abbé's translation might have been a fine poem.

It being the object, as we may suppose, of this work to procure to the translator's countrymen a just and complete apprehension of the excellences of Virgil, it was necessary to secure them against the effects of too hasty a glance, or too dull a vision. Not contented therefore with the provisions already made against this danger by the copious commentaries on the original which he has embodied in the text of his translation, he has judged it right to add others yet ampler in their dimensions, under the more express and acknowledged form of a preface and annotations by the translator. There is not much of connected dissertation or learned research in any part of these; but there seem to us to be intermixed with much false criticism many happy observations, which really indicate poetical feeling. In fact, they might have gone far to persuade us that the abbé had some reasonable understanding of the character of his original, if his translation did not stand beside in such fearful witness against him. The following passage is an honourable specimen;

'Nulle part les passions & les affections naturelles, ne sont représentées avec plus de vérité que dans l'Enéide, & j'ose dire que les derniers livres sont en quelque sorte supérieurs sur ce point aux premiers. On y trouve peut-être des tableaux moins parfaits, mais le sentiment n'y a rien perdu; moins l'art s'y montre à découvert, plus la nature s'y découvre toute entière. Ces derniers livres, que Virgile vouloit retoucher, sont, pour ainsi dire, le premier jet d'un homme qui écrit avec son cœur encore plus qu'avec son esprit. Le poète se proposoit de les revoir dans ces mêmes lieux qui avoient inspiré Homère: si la mort ne l'eut point surpris, il nous eût montré sans doute un génie divin, mais il ne nous eût pas montré peut-être toute son âme; & l'âme d'un poète sensible comme Virgile ne doit pas moins inspirer d'admiration & d'intérêt que son génie.'

Notes sur le dixième livre.

ART. III.—*Eloges du Maréchal de Catinat, &c.*

Eulogies on Marshal de Catinat, on De l'Hospital, on De Thomas of the French Academy, with an unpublished Eulogy on De Claire Francoise De l'Espinasse; by Guibert. 8vo. 1806. Imported by Deconchy.

M. GUIBERT is the author of *Travels in Switzerland, &c.* which we mentioned with approbation in a former appendix. In the present volume of *Eulogies*, we discern his characteristic good sense, judicious reflections and enlightened views, with a style of nervous and animated eloquence. In the eulogy of Catinat, who was one of the great men whom the age of Louis XIV. produced, we are not disgusted, as in most compositions of this kind, with a continued strain of fulsome panegyric; nor tired with the barren generalities of praise. The panegyric which is bestowed, is measured by the nature of the acts to which it is accorded; and the eulogy contains, as all eulogies which are designed to interest or written to be believed, ought to contain, some detailed particulars of the life of the man. Catinat was indebted for the distinction which he obtained, to his own exertion. He was born of *ignoble* parents, a circumstance which at that time placed numerous obstacles in the way of promotion. He however possessed a moderate independence; and M. Guibert well remarks that for one person whose courage is increased, whose faculties are energized, and whose heart is exalted by the pressure of indigence, there are a thousand who succumb under the weight; whom it first deprives of patience, and then leaves destitute of principle.

The education of Catinat had been neglected; and he determined to *re-educate* himself. In this, he appears to have been eminently successful. The times in which we live, often determine the bent of our pursuits, and make us what we are. At the time in which Catinat began his career, France was becoming tranquil after the storms with which she had been agitated during the minority and pupillage of Louis XIV. Mazarine was dead; and Louis alone held the reins of sovereignty. The late dissensions had deposited new germs of vigour in the country; a new and increased activity was given to the mind; which in many took the direction of literature and art, and in others of war and arms. Condé and Turenne, ambitious of new laurels, were intriguing for the honour of serving the master against whom they had drawn the sword; and in all professions there were men who had passed the line of mediocrity.

Louis XIV. himself, notwithstanding the original defects of his education, seemed electrified by the impulse which the civil wars had given to the active genius of the nation; and if his reign was not productive of permanent felicity, it, at least, threw round the French nation for a period of thirty years a splendour which dazzled Europe.

Catinat, who was afterwards to signalise himself as a soldier, was originally bred to the bar, but, after losing a cause which he had every reason to believe just, his sorrow was so acute, that he resolved to relinquish the profession. This resolution perhaps evinced more humanity than judgment. For he who pleads a cause is not to arrogate to himself the right of determining on its merits; that belongs to the superiority of the court to whose decision it is the duty of the advocate to submit whatever it may be. He is to exert his utmost ability for the benefit of his client, and leave the issue to those to whom it is committed by the state. Catinat quitted the bar at the age of 23, to embrace the profession of arms. He obtained a sublieutenancy in the cavalry; and soon went to take his share of active service in the war which Louis XIV. had declared against Spain, the operations of which were chiefly confined to the Low Countries. It was on the part of Louis chiefly a war of sieges; in which Vauban distinguished the sagacity of Catinat. At the siege of Lisle the French had carried a part of the covered way; but owing to the injudicious dispositions of the officer who commanded the assailants, they were repulsed by the enemy; a mine was burst, and nothing but consternation and disorder prevailed; when Catinat, who had observed the mistake and foreseen the consequences, in an instant rallies the troops, arrests the fugitives, flies to an angle where he conjectured that there was a mine, prevents the explosion, and by his well-timed intrepidity and circumspection secured possession of the covered way. Louis XIV. learns the check which the troops had experienced, and sends for the officer by whose exertions it had been retrieved. He instantly gave him a commission in his own regiment of guards, which was then a great mark of distinction; for it was in this regiment that he placed the best officers in his army, from which he afterwards selected them as occasion required, for the most important commands. In the campaigns of 1672, 1673, 1674 and 1675, Catinat served successively under Turenne and Luxembourg. Louis XIV. did not forget the services which he had rendered at the siege of Lisle. He appointed him major-general, and he was sent to act on the Moselle under Marshal Rochfort. In this situation he falsified the common opinion that men of genius

are not capable of detail. In the science of war or the administration of the state, men of genius see with a rapidity of perception beyond that of ordinary men, the importance of the smallest details. Mediocrity indeed, which, incapable of comprehending a great whole, confines its attention to minutiae, may accuse genius of neglecting those inferior particulars which it discerns at one glance, but yet views them only as relative to more important considerations. But this was not the defect of Catinat; who seemed to attend to the whole and to all the minutiae of the employment in which he was engaged. It belonged to the character of Catinat to become greater in proportion as he rose to a higher pitch of honour and of power, as ordinary men seem to sink in consequence, in the same degree that their sphere of action is enlarged. Their aggrandisement serves only to increase their degradation. Louvois, who, though bred to the bar, was highly distinguished by his talents in the war department, of which he was the minister, had conceived an esteem for Catinat, and furnished him with opportunities of augmenting his renown. Talents are not so rare as the fortuitous circumstances which are wanting to call them into action.

Catinat was sent with a body of troops to reduce the Vaudois, who had revolted under the dominion of the Duke of Savoy. This he effected by his wisdom and moderation, almost without the effusion of blood; and his heart, which was no stranger to the sensations of genuine benevolence, long dwelt on the memory of this expedition with greater satisfaction than on other more reputedly glorious transactions of his life. In the war, which was consequent on the league of Augsbourg, he was appointed to command an army which was assembling on the frontiers of Italy. There are times, when the want of great men enables mediocrity to usurp the reputation of the great; and when the people, who must have some object on which to fix their admiration, accord to inferiority of talent the homage which is due to genius. This was the case in the war of the succession, when France possessed no generals of superior excellence; and when Villars shone with a lustre which he would not have enjoyed at any other period. But at the time of which we are speaking, Catinat was not indebted for his military fame to the general dearth of military talent. The ashes of Turenne were yet hardly cold; Crequi, whose campaigns almost rivalled those of Turenne, was just dead; Condé in retirement, filled the world with his renown; Luxembourg was still in the meridian of his genius and his fame. Foreigners could boast a Montécuculli, a prince Eugene,

a prince of Orange, a Schomberg. Such were the competitors with whom Catinat had to contend for the palm of martial renown. And as it is more difficult, so it is more meritorious to obtain distinction at a period when many are distinguished, than when all the rest of mankind seem sunk in a state below consideration. More lustre is requisite to shine among the greater constellations than to be replendant among the lesser stars. Victor Amédé, whom Catinat had to combat in the field, had a genius for war, and possessed great resources in his address, perfidy, and intrigue. He commanded his troops in person ; and though, when sovereigns become their own generals, they often embarrass the motions of their armies, their presence must contribute greatly to increase the courage of their troops, and to insure the success of their operations. The army which Catinat led into the field, was composed chiefly of new levies and militia. He had besides to contend with the cabinet of Versailles, with the intrigues of his camp, the difficulties of the country, and the excessive insubordination of his troops. He was besides surrounded by persons who were envious of his talents and his fame, ready to misrepresent every particular of his conduct, and to seize every opportunity to effect his disgrace. The opening of the campaign seemed likely to be favourable to their wishes. He was ordered by the court to enter Piedmont, to summon the Duke of Savoy to declare for France, to furnish a reinforcement of six thousand men, and as a pledge of his fidelity, to give up Verua and the citadel of Turin. If these terms were neglected, he was to ravage his states and march to his capital. The Duke of Savoy, who was not prepared to resist this irruption, sent a deputation to Catinat, to request him to desist from hostilities, till an answer arrived from the king, to whom he had written a letter, full of submission. This delay, which was generously conceded by Catinat, was perfidiously employed by the duke in collecting his troops, and increasing his means of resistance. Some detachments of French troops were surprised, and made prisoners. This intelligence gave great offence to the king of France, and Catinat was menaced with disgrace. Without making any humiliating apologies, Catinat leads his army against the Duke of Savoy. He found this prince encamped at Villefranca in an impregnable position. Catinat saw, that in order to oblige him to abandon this post, it was necessary to make an offensive movement at some interesting point ; which should, at the same time, appear so hazardous as to make the duke conceive the hope of attacking him to advantage. The duke fell into the snare, and a battle ensued, in which,

though fought under numerous disadvantages, the victory of Catinat was complete. Prince Eugene was in this engagement, and fought under the Duke of Savoy. In this action, Catinat manœuvred like a general, and fought like a soldier; but in the details of it which he dispatched to his court, he was so unsparing in his commendations of others, and said so little of himself, that it was asked, '*M. de Catinat étoit il a cette bataille ?*' '*Was M. Catinat in this battle ?*' After the battle, Catinat went about to visit the wounded, and to thank the officers and men for the services which they had displayed. On coming to one of the regiments, he found the men playing at nine-pins in front of the camp. The soldiers quit their play, and run eagerly up to the general, who requests them to resume their sport. One of the French soldiers, with the native gaiety of his nation, and with that liberty which they would not take except with generals whom they love, proposed to Catinat to be of the party, which he accepted without reserve, and began to play. A general officer, who was present, observed with astonishment a commander in chief playing at ninepins after gaining a battle. *It would indeed have been surprizing,* said Catinat, *if I had lost it.* Heroes are never amiable till they descend from the pedestal on which they are raised above the level of ordinary men, and shew themselves accessible to the sensibilities, the interests, the attachments, and the pleasures of common mortals.

In one of the ensuing campaigns the army of the Duke of Savoy was increased by German and Spanish succours to more than double that of Catinat. The duke threatened at once Dauphiné, Franche-Comté, Pignerol, Nice, and Casal. The court of Versailles suddenly took the alarm; for, in courts where every thing is seen through the exaggeration of ignorance, the transition is rapid and often instantaneous, from security to despair. The measures which Catinat adopted in this critical exigency, in which he had to combat such a vast superiority of force, were not taken from the circle of vulgar ideas. They were so bold as to seem to verge on the limits of temerity; but there are times when temerity itself is more safe than a cold, calculating discretion. There are talents which seem born to command even the caprices of fortune. The Duke of Savoy was prevented by the bold and masterly dispositions of Catinat from deriving any advantage from his great superiority of force, till he was at last defeated in a general action with the loss of from eight to ten thousand men and all his artillery. Catinat was promoted to be one of the marshals of France, an honour which he received with undisguised satisfaction, not only as

it was an acknowledgment of his services, but a pledge of the public consideration. Louis XIV. one day said to Catinat as he was taking his leave to rejoin the army, 'You take such good care of my affairs that I cannot help speaking to you of your own; in what state are they?'—'I have as much as I want,' said Catinat. 'This is the first man among my subjects,' exclaimed the king, 'that ever held this language.'

Catinat spent the latter part of his life in retirement at Saint Gratien, where he employed himself principally in rural occupations, in promoting the happiness and relieving the distress of his neighbours. He had read much in his youth; but he read little in his retreat; a few well-chosen books composed his library. He had already acquired sufficient materials for reflection; those materials which are collected by the curiosity of youth are digested by the maturity of age. In the first period of his retreat, Catinat went to court every year; but he soon appeared no more; though he was often consulted by Louis, who entertained for him that respect which cannot fail to be the result of an undeviating probity. Catinat died of a dropsy at the age of 69. France may have had more able generals, but she appears never to have possessed a more honest man.

The eulogy on De l'Hospital does honour to the pen of M. Guibert. It is a very eloquent and interesting performance. De l'Hospital was one of the most incorruptible judges and patriotic statesmen of his own or of any other times. His youth was tutored by adversity, which is the best of all masters, which accelerates the fruits of experience and the maturation of the judgment. His father was physician and counsellor to the famous constable of Bourbon, whose crimes could not entirely obliterate the traces of his glory. When this prince joined the enemies of France, the father of De l'Hospital would not abandon his benefactor and his friend, even in his exile and distress; and the son was arrested on suspicion of being an accomplice in the treason of the constable. But young De l'Hospital appears to have established his innocence to the satisfaction even of his judges, who were not disposed to shew him any lenity; and from that period he became the steady enemy of the oppressor, and friend of the oppressed. After his liberation from confinement he passed into Italy to visit his father, by whom he was induced to study the law at Padua. Here he spent six years in finishing his education; and imbibed a taste for sculpture, for painting, and for poetry. The last constituted one of his sources of recreation, in the busy anxieties of his public life; and with it he found means to relieve the dry details of legal investigation. This was the

age of the fine arts in Italy, when 'Raphael painted, and Vida sung.' Many memorable occurrences took place during the residence of De l'Hospital at Padua; the battle of Pavia, the captivity of Francis 1st, and the death of the Duke of Bourbon, when scaling the walls of Rome. With him would have perished the hopes of his father, if he had not found resources in the unshaken affection of his son. They repaired together to Rome, where the reputation which young l'Hospital had acquired at Padua, was not unknown. Hence, by the exertions of the cardinal de Grammont, he was restored to his country, which he lived to adorn by his talents and his worth. At Paris he attached himself to the bar. He married the only daughter of Morin, and was made counsellor to the parliament. However much men may in private envy or resist the ascendant of a superior mind, yet in a public assembly, where there is a conflict of talents and opinions, merit will find its level, and command the admiration even of its enemies. The mind of l'Hospital was improved by study, and enriched by a knowledge of antient and of modern jurisprudence beyond that of any other members of the parliament. His eloquence was not distinguished by a superfluity of words, and a dearth of ideas; it was suited to the subject, and proceeded directly to the attainment of its object. During the nine years in which l'Hospital filled the office of counsellor to the parliament, he contributed to check many abuses, and save many citizens from unjust judgments. When his friend Olivier was made chancellor, he sent l'Hospital as an ambassador to the council which had been transferred by Paul III. from Trente to Bologna. At Rome he had studied the spirit of the court; he had observed the vices of the popes, the rapacity of the clergy, and the profanation of the gospel; but he did not confound religion with the errors with which it had been mingled by the passions and the ignorance of mankind. Even in this age of intolerance and of darkness, the religious opinions of De l'Hospital were purified by a degree of charity and knowledge far beyond those of his contemporaries. He wished to see the religion of Jesus brought nearer to its original simplicity; nor did he consider religion in general, as designed merely to serve the interested ends of priests and politicians; but he regarded it as the corroborant of virtue, the preventive of tyranny, and the balm of woe. He venerated it as the compact between God and man; or, to use the language of Homer, as *the chain of gold which attaches this terrestrial globe to the throne of the Eternal*. With notions of religion so comprehensive and so just, it was not to be expected that De l'Hospital was

likely to meet with many friends at the council of Bologna. But he still trusted that among the assembled prelates some few might be found who would be willing to embrace his views, and concur with him in some measures which were favourable to the best interests of mankind. But this was the mere illusion of a highly virtuous mind, which supposes that the sensations of philanthropy are as easily kindled in other bosoms as in its own. Instead of this he found that those churchmen who were at all enlightened, were debased by the possession or the lust of emolument, while those who had good intentions wanted knowledge to direct them right. Finding it impossible to baffle the narrow-minded schemes of ecclesiastical intrigue, to promote the good which he wished, or to prevent the evil which he deprecated, he solicited his recall; and was welcomed back to France by the congratulations of those who could discern his ability and worth. At this period De l'Hospital became acquainted with Margaret of Valois, the sister of Henry II. by whose interest he was made master of requests, and afterwards became president in the chamber of accounts. While he possessed this latter office, he was indefatigable in promoting economy and preventing depredation. Henry II. was one of the most lavish of princes, but he did not find in l'Hospital a minister at all willing to countenance his prodigality, or to encourage his spoliations of the people. 'Sire,' said he one day to the king, when he refused to pay an exorbitant largess to one of his creatures, *'this money which your majesty is going to bestow is the subsistence of the people; it is the food of twenty villages, which is sacrificed to the rapacity of an individual.'* This unshaken integrity and unadulterated patriotism, as might be expected, soon excited against de l'Hospital an host of enemies: but neither their machinations nor their threats were able for a moment to divert him from the pursuit of the public good. One of the favourite attempts of De l'Hospital was to reform the numerous abuses which had crept into the administration of justice, and, above all, to put a stop to the imposing chicanery and gross venality of the courts. As the basis of this great and salutary reformation, he thought that justice should be gratuitously dispensed. 'If,' said he, 'the king were to administer justice in person, which is the preeminent attribute of sovereignty, would he require to be paid for his decrees? Why then should he delegate this odious right to his judicial representatives?' De l'Hospital was no friend to the proud pretensions of the parliament of Paris, to be the senate of the nation. He did not think that the interests of the country could be so safely entrusted to magistrates appoint-

ed by the crown ; to lawyers who were educated in the practice of chicane, and whose notions seldom extended beyond the narrow routine of their professions, as to the states general, who were chosen immediately by the people, and were closely united to them by the ties of sympathy and interest. During the ministry of De l'Hospital these real representatives of the nation were thrice convoked; though they afterwards fell into disuse, and no counterpoise was left to the authority of the throne, but the idle phantom of the parliament of Paris. Thus we see that the ideas of this wise and honest man had advanced at least two centuries beyond those of his contemporaries. The person who thus outstrips the wisdom of his age, is sure to be assailed by every weapon of hostility, which calumny and ridicule, which detected craft and incensed bigotry can supply. During the six years in which l'Hospital was at the head of the finances, he in vain laboured to check the vices of the court and to alleviate the sufferings of the people. The malady which he attempted to cure was so virulent that it seemed to defy every remedy ; and when Margaret of Valois, his benefactress and his friend, became the wife of the duke of Savoy, he accepted the office of chancellor to the duke, and abandoned the country which he could not save. Under Francis II. who was only the shadow of a king, the intolerance of the Guises rekindled the persecutions which Francis I. had begun against the protestants. On the death of Olivier the chancellor of France, l'Hospital was again recalled to his native country, and requested to fill the office of chancellor by Catharine of Medicis, who hoped to find in his energy and talents a counterpoise to the influence of the house of Guise. The place of chancellor was then the most important in the kingdom, and to it all the other branches of the administration were subordinate. The times in which De l'Hospital was called to fill this arduous situation, rendered it peculiarly difficult and delicate. Simple and ingenuous, he was environed by complicated intrigues : a friend to the extension of the popular rights, he was surrounded by the agents of an unrelenting despotism : and while his heart espoused the cause of religious toleration, his associates in the ministry breathed nothing but the most sanguinary persecution. In such a state of things the most cautious and delicate management became requisite on the part of l'Hospital. The cardinal of Lorraine, who had monopolized in his own person so many archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbeys, and innumerable other benefices, that he was styled at the council of Trent *the pope on the other side of the mountains*, had at this time conceived the fatal project of establishing the inquisi-

tion in France. He had already brought the other members of the council, and even Medicis, over to his views. The cardinal himself was to have been the grand inquisitor; and the project seemed too far advanced to be defeated. But l'Hospital, who knew how to unite flexibility with firmness, found means to frustrate the wishes of the cardinal, and to render the scheme abortive. If France therefore had no other obligations to Del'Hospital, this alone would merit a statue of gold. For if it had not been for the vigour, the wisdom, and the prudence of his exertions, at this critical juncture, the tribunals of the inquisition would have been spread over France; and that country, like Spain and Portugal, might, in respect to reason and to knowledge, have been at least a century behind the rest of Europe. Soon after this, the Guises made every exertion to prevent the convocation of the states general, which was so ardently promoted by l'Hospital. But the ambition of the Guises attempted to throw every thing into confusion. On some pretexts which were unfortunately furnished by the imprudence of the protestants, the prince of Condé, and the king of Navarre were arrested by the order of the court. The prince of Condé was carried before a criminal tribunal, and condemned to death; but the execution of the sentence was deferred, and he was afterwards released by the interest of l'Hospital with the Queen regent after the death of Francis II. Against the king of Navarre, no evidence could be adduced to give a colour to his condemnation; but the Guises proposed to Francis to take him off by the more expeditious method of assassination; and they had already brought the weak monarch over to their designs. Henry was introduced into the royal cabinet; and persons were ready to perpetrate the assassination, on a signal which was to be given by the monarch. Henry appeared, but the resolution of Francis failed; he turned pale, hesitated, and suffered him to retire unhurt. The states general were on the point of meeting at Orleans, when Francis II. fell ill and died. Nothing but confusion, perplexity and distress prevailed. Each party was eager to turn the event to their own advantage, and to the destruction of the other. The Guises employ persuasion, intimidation, and artifice, to induce Catherine of Medicis to consummate the execution of Condé, and the assassination of the king of Navarre. The queen is on the point of becoming the instrument of their sanguinary views. She requires a short interval of deliberation; in which she sends for l'Hospital, whose authority, eloquence and wisdom gave a new and more virtuous direction to her resolutions. The prince of Condé and the king of Navarre were set at liberty. 'Add to this conduct,' said l'Hos-

pital, 'sentiments of toleration and of peace, and I will insure you a solid and a happy regency.' De l'Hospital opened the assembly of the states. He dilated on the origin of the states, on their authority, the necessity of convoking them often, &c. &c.; and in his discourse he did not fail to inculcate his beloved principles of toleration and of peace. The Guises were appalled; and if the inconstancy of Catherine had not again made her listen to their desperate counsels, her administration, directed by the talents and the virtues of l'Hospital, would have established the peace and the prosperity of France. In the conference or council, which was held at Passy in order to settle the religious differences of the time, and restore peace to the church, the discourse which l'Hospital delivered, breathed a spirit of moderation and of charity which is not often seen even in modern times, but which must excite our admiration, if compared with the intolerance and the bigotry of the age in which he lived. 'Let us,' says he, 'avoid subtle disputations; let us reject those questions which are only curious, and imitate that good and artless man at the council of Nice, who professing to know only the preaching of the cross, confounded the erudition of the doctors. Let us not be prejudiced against the protestants; but try whether their opinions be true or false, by the only safe criterion of the scriptures. And after all, if they be false, their errors ought not to alienate our charity. They are still our brethren. They worship the same God; they have been baptised in the same waters; and it is only by the measures of conciliation and of mildness, that we ought to endeavour to restore them to the communion of the church,' &c. But in that barbarous period, these sentiments of universal charity were sounds ungrateful to the ear, and impervious to the heart. This conference, like others of the same kind, only augmented the dissensions, and hardened the sturdy disputants in their previous belief. L'Hospital in vain struggled to exalt the sentiments, compose the animosities, and dispel the fanaticism of his contemporaries; the only consolation which remained to him, was that he had left no exertion untried, which wisdom, or which virtue could suggest. The kingdom soon became the theatre of a civil war; and after the protestants had been lulled into security, the massacre of St. Bartholomew ensued, one of those memorable blots which will never be effaced from the annals of France. De l'Hospital had every reason to believe that he was involved in the proscription. A troop of armed people were seen approaching the residence in the vicinity of Paris, to which he had retired. His vassals and domestics began to make preparations for defence. But the intrepid sage forbade any oppo-

sition. 'If,' said he, 'the little gate be not big enough for their admission, open the great one.' But these troops were only a safeguard which had been sent from the court. They had, they said, orders from the king to say that he took him under his protection, and pardoned his former opposition to his plans. 'I did not know,' said l'Hospital, 'that I had done any thing to make me an object either of condemnation or of pardon.' The intrepidity of De l'Hospital was the result of his inviolate integrity, of a conscience void of offence, and of a life which had been devoted to the happiness of mankind. He did not long survive the catastrophe of Saint Bartholomew; he expired in the arms of his family, at the age of sixty-eight.

ART. IV.—*Traité de l'Insanité, &c.*

A Treatise on Insanity, in which are contained the Principles of a new and more practical Nosology than has yet been offered to the Public, exemplified by numerous and accurate historical Relations of Cases from the Author's public and private Practice, with Plates illustrative of the Craniology of Maniacs and Idiots. By Th. Pinel, Professor of the School of Medicine at Paris, &c. &c. 8vo. Paris. Imported by Deconchy. 1806.

THE author of this treatise esteems the medical and pharmaceutical treatment of the insane to be a point of inferior consideration to the moral discipline, and it therefore occupies only a small part of the work, with which we are here presented. In this idea we cannot but coincide with him. It is but too evident, that no medicine has a specific effect upon maniacal symptoms. It only remains therefore to apply the means in our hands to the greatest advantage possible; to palliate where we are not able to cure, and assist the efforts of nature, where it appears to be within her power to bring the disease to a successful termination. Happily this is often the case; and so much is Dr. Pinel convinced of this truth, that he asserts there are circumstances, in which paroxysms of active insanity are to be hailed as salutary efforts of nature to throw off previous disease. Instances, in which these paroxysms have removed great oppression or an almost total obliteration of the intellectual faculties, have furnished the grounds of this conviction. But it is confessed that such happy events are not to be met with but during the vigour of youth. No examples of such cures have occurred after the age of forty.

Dr. Pinel was entrusted with the cure of the Asylum de

Bicêtre during the second and third years of the republic. It is the custom to transfer insane patients from the Hospice d'Humanité (the ancient Hotel Dieu) to this asylum. This situation would at any time afford very great opportunities of observation. The period at which our author received this trust, has enabled him to make several curious and useful remarks, connected with the tone of mind and the agitation of the passions, produced by that stormy and eventful period.

The work is divided into six sections, from which we shall briefly extract the observations we think of the most value.

The first section contains observations on the circumstances of the disease, but without pretending to give a full and regular history of all its symptoms, infinitely various and complicated as they are. He notices particularly the connexion of the disease with the state of the abdominal viscera, which is so constant as to warrant the presumption that its seat is almost always in the epigastric region. We cannot but notice how much this coincides with the opinion recently advanced by Mr. Abernethy in his *Essay on the Connexion of the general Health with Disease of the digestive Organs*. An opportunity is also taken of showing how variable are some of the most singular features of the disease. If there is often a quantity of muscular energy, which gives the idea of a strength almost supernatural, in other instances there is present a considerable degree of muscular debility. If some bear extremes of hunger with impunity, others languish even to fainting from a deficiency of nourishment. If some support an astonishing degree of cold, others shiver even in the warm months. So fallacious is the practice of generalising from partial and insulated facts.

The second section contains the moral method of treatment, on which he principally depends for success. As every case has its peculiar singularities, to the circumstances of which it is necessary to adapt the treatment, it is obviously impossible to lay down very precise and definite rules on the subject. Dr. Pinel has chosen therefore to illustrate his ideas by examples, in which the means seem to have been skilful and judicious; but where the success was not always equal to his expectations. We are happy to observe that the brutal treatment to which the wretched maniac has been so much exposed, is reprobated as not only useless but pernicious. Cords, stripes and blows often serve but to exasperate a sensorium already under the highest irritation from internal causes. In the expedients resorted to in particular examples, the address, intelligence and prudence of the superintendant is chiefly conspicuous. Our readers may be amused by the following example, and be apt to think that those

who gave occasion to the transaction it describes, must have been nearly as insane as the unhappy agents in it.

‘In the third year of the republic the directors of the civil hospitals, in the excess of their revolutionary zeal, determined to remove from those places the external objects of worship, the only remaining consolation of the indigent and unhappy. A visit for this purpose was paid to the hospital de Bicetre. The plunder, impious and detestable as it was, was begun in the dormitories of the old and the infirm, who were naturally struck, at an instance of robbery so new and unexpected, some with astonishment, some with indignation, and others with terror. The first day of visitation being already far spent, it was determined to reserve the lunatic department of the establishment for another opportunity. I was present at the time, and seized the occasion to observe, that the unhappy residents of that part of the hospital required to be treated with peculiar management and address; and that it would be much better to confide so delicate a business to the governor himself, whose character for prudence and firmness was well known. That gentleman, in order to prevent disturbance, and perhaps an insurrection in the asylum, wished to appear rather to submit to a measure so obnoxious than to direct it. Having purchased a great number of national cockades, he called a meeting of all the lunatics who could conveniently attend. When they were all arrived, he took up the colours and said, “Let those who love liberty, draw near and enrol themselves under the national colours.” This invitation was accompanied by a most gracious smile. Some hesitated; but the greatest number complied. This moment of enthusiasm was not allowed to pass unimproved. The converts were instantly informed, that their new engagement required of them to remove from the chapel the image of the Virgin, with all the other appurtenances of the catholic worship. No sooner was this requisition announced, than a great number of our new republicans set off for the chapel, and committed the desired depredation upon its sacred furniture. The images and paintings which had been the objects of reverence for so many years, were brought out to the court in a state of complete disorder and destruction. Consternation and terror seized the few devout but impotent witnesses of this scene of impiety. Murmurs, imprecations, and threats expressed their honest feelings. The most exasperated among them prayed that fire from heaven might be poured upon the heads of the guilty, or believed that they saw the bottomless abyss opening to receive them. To convince them, however, that heaven was deaf equally to their imprecations and their prayers, the governor ordered the holy things to be broken into a thousand pieces, and to be taken away. The good will and attachment, which he knew so well how to conciliate, ensured the execution of this revolutionary measure. A great majority immediately seconded his wishes. The most rigid devotees, who were comparatively few in number, retired from the scene, muttering imprecations, or agitated by fruitless fury.’

In considering the question (in the third section) whether mania is dependent on organic lesion of the brain, our author is inclined to take the negative side; we think upon insufficient foundation. Careful observations on the form of the cranium, prove that there is no change in its size or configuration in maniacal subjects, nor any particular disproportion to the magnitude of the body. But in ideots, those especially who have been so from birth, the fact is otherwise. They have the brain compressed, the cranium irregular; the length of the whole head, which in well formed subjects is very nearly an eighth of the whole body, is often no more than a tenth. These facts are curious, though not leading immediately to any useful results.

We have not received much satisfaction from the attempt at a new nosological arrangement, which occupy the fourth section. Dr. P. has made five species of mental derangement; viz. melancholia, or delirium upon one subject only; mania without delirium; mania with delirium; dementia, or the abolition of the thinking faculty; and ideotism, or obliteration of the intellectual faculties and affections. We may say in general of these distinctions, that as these conditions of the brain often alternate in the same subject, they cannot form a just foundation for specific difference, however useful it may be to observe them in a history of the disease. M. Pinel has himself observed fits of insanity to act as a cure to a state of obliteration of the intellect. We may observe too that he applies the word melancholia in a more extensive sense, than is authorized by the usage of the first authorities. He defines it delirium exclusively upon one subject. But the usual signification is hallucination upon one subject connected with the person or bodily feelings of the patient. 'Melancholici,' says Sauvages, 'dicuntur, qui uni potissimum cogitationi constanter affixi, circum semetipsos aut statum suum delirant, de cæteris objectis ritè ratiocinantes.'

The police of lunatic asylums next comes under consideration; but many of the remarks contained in the section appropriated to this subject, belong more properly to the moral management of the insane. The following history paints in strong colours the evils suffered by the French nation during the early periods of the revolution, which penetrated even the asylums of misery, and increased the horrors of a situation, already so wretched as to appear incapable of aggravation. At the same time it exposes completely the dangerous error of those, who conceive a system of low dieting to be applicable without discrimination in the treatment of mental derangement.

'I leave to the historian of the revolution to paint in its proper and odious colours, that most barbarous and tyrannical measure, which deprived infirmaries and hospitals of their valuable endowments, and abandoned the diseased and the infirm to all the vicissitudes of public fortune. It is sufficient for my present object to mention a few facts, of which I have been an eye witness, and of which the recollection cannot but be painful to a man of any sensibility. To meet the well ascertained wants of the hospital de Bicetre, it was determined by the constituent assembly, to increase the allowance of bread to one kilogramme, (two pounds) daily. For the two succeeding years, I witnessed with great satisfaction the operation of that salutary measure. I then ceased to be physician to that hospital. But during one of my friendly visits, (4th Brumaire, year 4,) which I occasionally paid to my old insane acquaintances, I learned that the usual allowance of bread had been reduced to seven hectogrammes and a half per day. (A hectogramme is equal to 3oz. 4dwts. 8.4097 Troy.) A great number of the old convalescents had relapsed into a state of raving madness, and were complaining loudly and bitterly, that they were about to be starved to death. But this system of retrenchment was afterwards carried to still greater lengths; the allowance being gradually reduced to five, four, three, and even to two hectogrammes of bread, with a small supplement of biscuit, which frequently was far from being of a good quality. The consequences were such as could not have escaped attention. Upon inquiring into the state of the institution, it appeared that in the short space of two months (Pluviose and Ventose, year 4), the total number of deaths in the lunatic department alone had been twenty-nine, while during the whole of the year 2, twenty-seven had died. A similar but still more deplorable result, was obtained from a survey of the same kind which was made of the hospital de Salpetriere. In the months of Brumaire, (October and November,) of the year 4, there were no fewer than fifty-six deaths, which more immediately were occasioned by the extreme frequency of colliquative diarrhœa and dysentery.'

Asylums for lunatics ought never to be situated, if possible, in great cities. Besides the great inconvenience of such situations in not affording the means of a perfect seclusion, and thus exposing the patients to idle visits, and the impertinencies of misplaced curiosity, they must commonly be deficient in the space, which is requisite to a complete establishment of this nature. A Scotch farmer gained great reputation in the treatment of insanity. This was chiefly founded upon his manner of occupying his patients, which consisted in employing them in agricultural labour. As in children perpetual activity of the body seems necessary to expand their exuberant spirits, it cannot be doubted that the restlessness and agitation of maniacs seeks relief in bodily exertions. Nothing surely then can be more senseless

than to apply confinement, cords and solitude to such a condition, and thus to counteract the strongest indications of nature. Mechanical employment, sometimes to the degree which may be called laborious, seems happily adapted to expend their effervescent excitement, to correct the wanderings of the imagination, and to withdraw the mind from the objects of their hallucination. The following picture gives a pleasing view of this species of employment, and holds forth encouragement to follow so laudable an example :

‘ In a city of Spain, Saragossa, there is an asylum which is open to the diseased, and especially to lunatics of all nations, governments and religions, with the simple inscription, *URBIS ET ORBIS*. Manual labour has not been the sole object of solicitude on the part of its founders. They have likewise sought an antidote to the wanderings of the diseased imagination in the charms of agriculture, a taste for which is so general that it is commonly considered as an instinctive principle of the human breast. In the morning may be seen the numerous tenants of that great institution, distributed into different classes, with their respective employments awarded to them. Some are kept in the house as domestics of various orders and provinces : others work at different trades in shops provided for the purpose. The greatest number set out, in different divisions, under the guidance of intelligent overlookers, spread themselves over the extensive inclosure belonging to the hospital, and engage, with a degree of emulation, in the soothing and delightful pursuits of agriculture and horticulture. Having spent the day in preparing the ground for seed, propping or otherwise nursing the rising crop, or gathering the fruits of the olive, the harvest or the vintage, according to the season, they return in the evening and pass the night in solitary tranquillity and sleep. Experience has uniformly attested the superiority of this method of managing the insane. The Spanish noblesse, on the contrary, whose pride of birth and family presents insurmountable obstacles to a degradation so blessed and salutary, seldom recover the full and healthy possession of a deranged or lost intellect.’

Of the power of pharmaceutical preparations we have already said that Dr. Pinel has a very low opinion ; and he attributes all-sufficiency in curable cases to the physical and moral regimen. We believe that he attaches far too much importance to this regimen : at least the expectations we might be induced to form of it are by no means confirmed by the facts furnished by the work. The insane most commonly die of the same diseases as those which prove fatal to those of sound intellects. The pharmaceutical treatment must therefore be the same as in ordinary cases. But neither on the subject, nor on the use of medicines thought to be suited to insanity, have we met with any

remarks worthy of particular notice. The subject of diet too, one which we think should occupy the first place in a treatise of this nature, we are surprised to find passed over in total silence.

Upon the whole we have received considerable satisfaction from this work. Not that it is distinguished for any novelty in theory or any great improvement in practice; and it is with a very ill grace that the author affects to undervalue the labours of the English writers in the same field. His own cannot bear a comparison with some of the productions of our countrymen for acuteness of observation and profound research. It is pleasant also to remark the parade with which he ushers in the most trite observations. Every thing at first, he informs us, presented to him a scene of chaos and confusion. From established systems he had little assistance to expect; and his first labour was to divest himself of his own prepossessions and the authority of others. He dilates on the variety and profundity of knowledge requisite in the physician who undertakes the treatment of insanity—qualifications with which we are to understand himself to be abundantly endowed. To form a suitable distribution of mental derangement, he felt the necessity of commencing his studies with examining the numerous and important facts, which have been discovered and detailed by modern pneumatologists. When we estimate the product of these mighty labours and profound studies, we are forced to ask with the poet,

'Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu?'

But we are unwilling to detract from the real merit of the work, merely because it is written in the favourite style of the great nation; and we hope it will be of service to the most unhappy part of our species, by enforcing those maxims of mildness and humanity, which are calculated to afford to them all the alleviation of which their condition is susceptible.

This work has been lately translated by Dr. Davis of Sheffield, who has upon the whole executed his task with elegance and fidelity. The translator has prefixed a long and well written introduction, in which he has given an account of the labours and opinions of the principal writers, both ancient and modern, on the subject. It is published by Cadell and Davies.

ART. V.—*Recherches historiques, &c.*

Historical Researches into the political, civil, and military Government of the Romans, under the Kings, the Consuls, and the Emperors, to the Time of Justinian. By C. F. Delamarche. First Part. 8vo. Paris. 1806. Imported by Deconchy.

THE republican constitution of antient Rome, if we consider the length of its continuance and the beneficial tendency of its effects, the admirable manner in which it secured individual liberty and prevented individual oppression, in which it guarded against slavery on the one hand, and anarchy on the other, with the rude times in which it originated, and the half-barbarous people by whom it was formed, appears to have been a structure, on which the praise of wisdom can hardly be too lavishly bestowed. Of those constitutions which have been formed in a later period, when knowledge and civilization have been more diffused, which, if we except the British, can be compared with that of republican Rome in sagacity of contrivance, grandeur of effect, or solidity of structure? Or what constitution can we name, in which the form has been republican, and the sovereignty elective, which has for any considerable time been able to guard against the usurpation of an individual? But in Rome, where the executive power was chosen by the suffrage of the people, we have an instance of a government, which preserved itself, for the space of more than 400 years, from the abolition of royalty to the times of Sylla, free from the despotic invasion of any individual. In times of great public danger, indeed, particular individuals had been, by general consent, for an interval invested with absolute power, for the public good.—An hereditary executive appears to us at present the best, and, as far as modern experience extends, (for the example of America is almost too recent to justify any inference) the only means of preventing the usurpation of the sovereignty by an individual. The attempt, which was made in this country after the execution of Charles 1st, to establish a republican government, with an elective sovereignty, soon proved abortive, and terminated in the usurpation of a military chief. In France the executive power, after having frequently changed its possessors during the tempestuous period of the revolution, has at last fixed its residence in the hands of a military usurper. But, in Rome, where the sovereignty was vested in two consuls, who were replaced every year, we have no instance of a similar usurpation for more than four hundred years. This is a singular phenomenon, which perhaps it may not be easy to solve. For as the love of power and distinction may be

supposed to operate alike in all ages and all climes, we may suppose that the Romans of that time were not less sensible to ambition, or less eager for aggrandizement, than the inhabitants of Britain or of France in a later period. Whatever may be the age or the country, we believe that, where the power of rule is placed within the reach of any individual, the heart will seldom be found impervious to the incentives of ambition. The splendid exception of a Washington is so rare, that it hardly seems just to rank such a man with the common species. And the singular rarity of the exception, instead of weakening, only strengthens the general conclusion. Instead therefore of attributing the absence of any individual usurpation during so many ages of the Roman republic, to any extraordinary imbecility in the operations of the ambitious principle during that period, we ought perhaps rather to ascribe it to the wise checks and contrivances of the government, which restrained the ambition of individuals within the coercion of the laws, and the bounds of the constitution.

First, the executive of the Roman republic was not lodged in the hands of an individual, but divided between two consuls of equal authority and power; and the equilibrium of both operated as a check on the ambitious views which either of the two might entertain. Secondly, the period of their power was only for a year; so that they had hardly time to make any preparations for the usurpations of the sovereignty, or to tamper with the army, before the fasces of office and the ensigns of command were transferred to their successors. The rapid rotations of persons in places of distinction and of power, seems to be the animating and saving soul of republican liberty; and was particularly observed in the republic of Rome. In the best days of that republic, no man was allowed to taste the sweets or emoluments of office or command, till his palate was vitiated by the continuance, and till he forgot the humble obedience of the citizen in the insolent domination of the chief. In every republic, which wishes to guard against the usurpation of individuals, that command which is great, ought not to be of long continuance. A brief and definite period should be fixed for the termination, which neither merit nor favour ought to be suffered to prolong. Rome lost her liberty by continuing the command of Cæsar in Gaul, so long after the time appointed by law for the expiration. Republics are often called ungrateful, because they are apt to evince a distrust of popular commanders, or meritorious chiefs. But those, who know the fascinations of power, will consider that distrust only as a wholesome jealousy for the preservation of liberty.

No people, who are intent on the preservation of their freedom, will ever behold, without fearful apprehension, any increasing exorbitancy of power in any individual. It is the patronage with which the executive is invested, which principally renders it so formidable, which multiplies its dependents, diffuses its influence, and consolidates its power. But the patronage which the consuls possessed, was not very great or extensive; and it was always limited by the brief duration of their command. They could not appoint to any of the distinguished offices of trust or power; these the people wisely kept in their own hands; and by this means probably preserved their freedom longer than they otherwise could. In the governments of modern Europe, what is called the patronage of the state, is not vested in the people, but in the executive; which is thus armed with a power that is too often exercised against the public interest. In Rome the public interest and the interest of the magistrate could hardly be at variance with each other; because he owed his appointment to their favour, and was not likely to exercise it so as to excite their displeasure. But, in the governments of later times, the patronage which is possessed by the individual, is employed to corrupt the spirit, or undermine the liberties of the people. It is a power acting in opposition to the public good. It is the conflict of private against the public interest. In Rome, where the great mass of patronage was left in the hands of the people, the government was most eager to obtain the suffrage of popular approbation; but in modern governments, where the patronage is vested in the executive, each individual is striving to become a sort of pensioner on the government. Individuals are continually holding up their hungry jaws and suppliant faces to the executive for the emoluments of office, or the gratifications of power. In the flourishing era of the Roman republic, the public good was the main spring of political conduct; the good of the community swallowed up all narrow and interested considerations. In modern governments, private interest is the great rule of action; it is influence, or some sordid personal motive of avarice or ambition, which oils the wheels and facilitates the movements of the political machine. It is indeed often said that the executive government of any country cannot be carried on without patronage. But, what is this but to affirm, that no executive government can subsist, unless it can bias men to violate their duty from interested considerations? For of what is the patronage of the executive composed, but of the places of emolument and distinction which it has to bestow? But whence did it happen that the Roman executive could pursue

a career so prosperous and so honourable for so many centuries with so little of that patronage, which seems the great engine with which modern governments operate their effects? The truth is, that there was among the Roman people of those times a degree of public spirit, of which hardly a particle is left among us, or which is transmuted into the base and adulterate material of a calculating selfishness and a vicious interest. To suppose that the executive power of any country would be weak or palsied in its operations without an immensity of patronage, is to suppose not so much that the people are unprincipled, as that the measures of the government are opposite to the public interest. For that people must be even more besotted in ignorance than sunk in vice, which would not support an executive, whose operations were directed solely to their good. But, when that public spirit, which excludes all sinister views and sordid interests, expired among the Roman people, it soon produced the subversion of the government and the loss of liberty.

The Roman government in the purest ages of the republic seems to have been rather a complex piece of mechanism, and composed of adverse and jarring powers; which however, for a great length of time, harmonized in promoting the public good. But whence could this harmony proceed but from that public spirit which was so generally diffused through the body politic, and without which every political body soon becomes a carcase of corruption?

No nation can enjoy any great degree of freedom without a good code of civil and criminal law. For, without this, there can be no security of person or property; and without security of person and of property, political freedom, whatever may be the form of the government, can be but a name. The wisdom of the Roman people is very conspicuous in their jurisprudence; and their laws appear to have been preferable to those of Solon, Draco or Lycurgus. Of the twelve tables indeed, which constituted the basis of Roman jurisprudence, many of the laws were borrowed from the Greeks; but, even here, wisdom was shown in the choice and the adaptation: and great part of the code, instead of being a foreign importation, appears to have been constituted of that common law, which had been established by long usage, and had prevailed even from the times of their kings, some of whom particularly excelled in the art of legislation. The best laws in general appear to be those which owe their existence to their utility, and which usage itself will often establish without the necessity of any particular ratification. Thus the common law of this country, which is the product of long and almost immemorial custom, is hardly equalled in wisdom by the statute law; and constitutes one of the fairest branches

in the tree of English liberty. It is probable in the same manner that at Rome the common law furnished some of the best and most sacred materials for the code of the twelve tables. It is to the wisdom and the utility of the common law of Rome, or of those laws of which the greatest part was not written, that Dionysius of Halicarnassus, (lib. ii. cap. 27,) ascribes the prosperity which Rome enjoyed for so many ages.

Numa did not disturb the laws and customs which Romulus had established. His object was to establish, on the basis of justice, of laws, and morals, a city which owed its origin to violence and outrage. Many of his regulations were preserved by the decemvirs, and inserted in the laws of the twelve tables; and perhaps common usage might give permanence to many of the rest. The three kings who succeeded Numa, made few laws. The warlike reign of Tullus Hostilius caused many to fall into disuse; but Ancus Martius restored those which Numa had enacted in favour of agriculture, and severely reprov'd those by whom they were neglected. He had these laws engraved on tables, and exposed in the forum to the daily inspection of the people. (Dionys. Hal. lib. iii. cap. 12.) Servius Tullius, who is regarded as the principal author of the civil law among the Romans (*præcipuus Servius Tullius sanctitor legum*), made a collection of laws, of which most were only a re-establishment of the ancient laws of Romulus and Numa; but he added fifty others which were entirely new, on debts, usury, contracts, and robberies; which were confirmed in an assembly of the curiæ. In these laws he rendered the condition of the plebeians equal with that of the patricians in every thing which concerned the administration of justice. They were all engraven on tables and fixed up in the forum; and they composed with those of the other kings that body of laws which was called the *Papisian* (afterwards *Papirian*) law, *jus Papisianum*, from Caius Papisius, who made the collection. Tarquin the Proud abolished the wisest laws which had been established by his predecessors, and subverted the ancient constitution, in which there seems to have been no small share of popular liberty. The tables, on which the laws were written, were removed from the forum, and broken by his orders. But the revolution, which put an end to royalty, restored part of the ancient jurisprudence. These laws indeed were no longer observed as royal ordinances, but as customs of the country, which had, as it were, been domesticated by established use. It is thus that the laws of Romulus and of Numa were retained. Indeed the patricians, who wanted the assistance of the plebeians in the establishment of the new government, restored the laws of the first kings, and particularly those of Servius Tullius, because they favoured the people.

But the concord between the patricians and the plebeians was of short duration. Their mutual jealousies were not extinguished by the revolution in the government. For the patricians, when they established the consular office, deprived it only of the external symbols, the sceptre and the crown, and not of the real attributes of sovereignty. Thus, according to Livy, (lib. ii. cap. 1.) this new liberty consisted in little more than the exchange of two consuls appointed for a year, instead of a king for life. The new magistrates soon made the people feel the weight of their authority. Fierce and bitter contentions arose, in which the plebeians demanded a code of laws, by which they might be governed without being subjected to the arbitrary vexations of the patricians. After a long period of contention and many delays, ten commissioners, named *decemvirs*, were elected for the purpose of framing a new and equal system of civil and criminal jurisprudence. The code of laws which they formed, was a compound of indigenous growth, and of Greek extraction. These laws were offered to the suffrage of the people, and unanimously approved. Such was the origin of the twelve tables, the laws of which, says Livy, (lib. iii. 34,) though confounded with so many others, which have been successfully accumulated, are still the source of all public and private law. Cicero extols them above all the books of the philosophers. 'The little code,' says he, 'of the twelve tables appears to me to surpass all the writings of all the philosophers in real wisdom and practical importance.' Cic. de Orat. 1. 44.

The historical researches of M. Delamarche into the political, civil, and military government of the Romans, appears, as far as we can judge from the first part, which is all that has reached us, to be executed with learning and ability. The authorities are constantly quoted in the margin; and the language is perspicuous, without much of that false glitter and metaphorical frippery, by which the productions of the French press are so commonly disgraced.

ART. VI.—*Leçons de Physique, &c.*

Lessons in Physics at the Polytechnic School, upon the general Properties of Bodies, and principally upon the Phenomena observed in the capillary Tubes; on the Effects of Heat relatively to the Dilatation of the Metals employed in the Arts, and to the Construction of Thermometers and Pyrometers; upon the Phenomena of the Atmosphere, with

Explanations of the different Kinds of Eudiometers, Barometers, Hygrometers, Anemometers, Anemoscopes, and aerial, aqueous, igneous and luminous Meteors. Digested and published according to the Course of that School, by J. B. Pujoulx. Preceded by an Introduction to the Study of Physics, by Historical Notices upon that Science, and by the Explication of some Phenomena, proper to complete this Part of the Course of general Physics; by the same. With ninety Figures. Octavo. pp. 291. Imported by Deconchy. 1805.

THIS title-page of tedious length bespeaks its origin; and the recesses of a bookseller's shop in Paris breathe the same air as they have long done in the British metropolis. The taste of men must every where be suited with literary productions adapted, in expence, to their ability to purchase, and in matter, to their advancement in knowledge. Many whose time is chiefly occupied in procuring the means of subsistence, must necessarily have recourse to compilations: and though compilations are in their way very good things, as a low man may become very opulent, and remain very excellent; yet as the latter ever retains something indicative of his origin, so the former have a certain flavour of the soil, which betrays the purposes of gain for which they were undertaken. This, however, in these times, we must consider as a venial fault, and rest satisfied if we can discern a sufficient portion of ability and attention in the conducting of the enterprize.

These Lessons, we are informed in the advertisement of the editor, have been taken from the course of lectures delivered every year in 'the most celebrated school of the sciences in Europe.' They have hitherto been known only to those educated in that institution. But the editor, penetrated with the sense of the utility of these elementary parts of physics in general, and with the excellence of this course in particular, to say nothing of other motives, has no longer been able to refrain from presenting to the public this compilation, which may afford explanations of many phenomena, the knowledge of which must be useful in domestic affairs. Besides that this branch of natural philosophy which is explained in an elementary manner, is supposed to be well fitted to be offered to the world at large; above all, on account of the figures which are here added, and which are represented as occupying with advantage the situation of the experiments which they retrace. Some figures indeed may do something of this kind, though the best are awkward and imperfect attempts to imitate nature. But we can only laugh at the ten wretched plates which are pompously proclaimed

in the title-page as ninety figures of supereminent excellence.

We have not the honour of M. Pujoulx's acquaintance, and the editor, amongst the notices of various particulars in his *avis*, has not included any information regarding his literary agent. We are informed however, that sketches of unpublished lectures cannot be published in Paris without the consent of the professor; a necessary piece of information in this country, where we have occasionally seen the whole course of lectures committed to the press without either his knowledge or approbation: and if the restriction of the liberty of publication in France has the effect of preventing such literary robbery, we must confess that it is one good consequence of a very bad system. But the subjects treated in this volume affording employment to several professors of the Institute, and little gaps being occasionally left between the courses of these learned men, M. Pujoulx, 'familiar with these objects,' has been engaged to supply the deficiencies, which he has done in an introduction, and some appendixes. The language of the title-page is however somewhat different, and M. Pujoulx would there seem to play a more important part than the editor is disposed to allow, and to have interfered in the composition of the whole work.

This volume then is of the elementary and popular kind, and is not without a great deal of merit. In the introduction the reader is first let into the secret of the derivation of the French word *physique*, which originally meant the study of nature, and has in our language been so restricted in its meaning as to apply only to the pathological history of the human frame. The origin of the natural sciences is traced briefly but correctly from the early ages of Grecian antiquity to the present enlightened era, since, whatever may be the merits of these latter days in other respects, they claim an undisputed pre-eminency in the profound branches of human knowledge. In this part of the work M. Pujoulx adverts to the artificial divisions, which have been made of the natural sciences, and gives the following remarks, of which the truth is undoubted:

'Notwithstanding, it must be confessed, that it is in vain that men, in order to facilitate the study of nature, have divided into three distinct sciences, with yet further sub-divisions, our knowledge of the wonders which every instant strike our senses. It is in vain that they have said to the naturalist, you shall describe, you shall class the living beings, and the mineral substances, as they commonly appear: to the natural philosopher, you shall observe all the general phenomena which shall present themselves to your notice, while you endeavour to imitate in order to explain

them, without attempting to decompose the bodies, lest you should trespass on the province of the chemist, who in his turn shall study the nature, the proportions, and the affinity of their composing parts. It is in vain, I say, that the learned have imposed these laws on themselves, and have wished to set up limits to separate the spaces which each ought to cultivate. Nature, without whose consent these frail barriers have been erected, overturns them at every step, and levelling, unknown to the natural historian, the natural philosopher, and the chemist, the globe around which they make their observations, reunites them every moment on one of those little spaces which in their vain classifications ought to have been the unchangeable property of one of the three.'

The reader, however, is not embarrassed any further with the consideration of these distinctions; and in twelve lessons are explained the principles of part of what the French comprehend under the denomination of physics, excluding however many important branches, and wandering, as if the author were anxious to justify his opinions by his practice, into the regions of chemistry. At the end of the introduction a short account is given of the phenomena of combustion, of crystallisation, of gravity, and of affinity. We have not observed any material error in these sketches, which are exceedingly brief, and can hardly be expected to produce a clear or lasting impression on those *gens du monde* whom the author is so anxious to instruct. It was scarcely to be expected that any great favour was to be shewn to foreigners in a work of this sort; and though on some of these subjects the labours of the British philosophers have been conspicuously successful, we find here little notice of their discoveries. One exception we must make: the name of Newton, the most illustrious of philosophers and almost the greatest of men, is frequently mentioned with that respect which no man, out of regard to his own reputation, can refuse to pay to acknowledged merit.

Upon arriving at the body of the work, the first subject treated of is the extension of matter, which is followed by some considerations concerning infinite divisibility. This latter part is very well explained, and the illustrations used are both more numerous and more happy than those generally employed. At the end of this discussion we are surprised to find ourselves suddenly transported into another region, and without well knowing why or how to have entered into the question of the best method of forming sympathetic inks. It appears as if the author was resolved that so amusing a subject should not be passed over in silence, however little connected with physics, and that science and arrange-

ment should on due occasions give way to the hope of attracting readers by the detail of showy experiments.

There are twelve lessons contained in this volume : of the first of these we have just stated the contents. The second treats of impenetrability and porosity ; and in ten pages we find a sufficiently clear and concise elucidation of these properties of matter. Every where we observe the best theories of the French school, often though not always compared and improved by the speculations of foreign philosophers. No great connexion seems to be thought by the author necessary between the different parts of the work, and he appears satisfied if he can convey just information in clear and precise terms. Under the head of porosity we meet a dissertation upon cutaneous perspiration, though the whole of the relation of that subject to physics, consists in a sort of indifferent pun upon the word porosity. Surely nobody can suppose any analogy between the pores of the skin, which are real holes formed by nature for a specific purpose, and the pores of inanimate bodies, or the distances which exist between the integrant particles of matter. This branch of the subject is too superficially considered.

The third lesson contains a very good account of elasticity: but when the author was relating the experiment of the Academy *del Cimento* upon the compression of water, and observing very justly that it did not prove the incompressibility of that substance, but rather the inadequacy of the means of compression, he should not have forgotten to state that the experiments of Canters in this country seem to have put an end to all doubt, and to have demonstrated that water is susceptible of a certain though moderate abridgment of its bulk by pressure. In the latter part of this section the author adopts the conclusion now generally received, that caloric is the cause of the elasticity of bodies in general, and that it is unnecessary to provide the molecules with any repulsive power, when we have an agent in heat ready at all times to produce the desired disposition to expand.

In the fourth lesson M. Pujoulx proceeds to the subject of affinities, by which he seems to understand what in this country we are accustomed to style capillary and cohesive attraction. There is nothing very interesting in this part of the work. In the fifth lesson a more extensive subject is treated, and we may say justly, one which is daily extending its limits. We allude to caloric, which it may be remarked is throughout great part of this volume called *caloricité*. This branch is allowed in general to belong to chemistry, and accordingly it is not here treated of at large. A few of its properties only are discussed, and a brief account is given 1st, of some of the ef-

fects of heat upon bodies when it does not change their form; 2d, of the different methods of measuring the conducting power of bodies; 3d, of the advantage which the arts derive from the knowledge of these facts. Under these heads a good deal of information is to be found, though little or nothing which has the smallest pretensions to novelty.

The sixth lesson affords a very respectable history of the invention, construction, and use of thermometers, and the seventh contains a similar account of pyrometers. In the eighth lesson the phenomena of the atmosphere are considered; and as it is a more interesting subject, more room is devoted to its elucidation, and more pains have apparently been bestowed. After detailing the common theories, the barometer is described, and its application to various purposes of curiosity and use distinctly stated. A very good account is afforded of the most approved methods of measuring the heights of mountains by means of this instrument, of which the following is the conclusion.

* It has been remarked, *ceteris paribus*, when the pressure of the atmosphere is equal to 76 centimetres at the surface of the earth, that at an elevation of 102.83 centimetres the mercury falls one centimetre. The air being compressible nearly in the ratio of the weight by which it is charged, at similar temperatures, its density ought to be proportional to the height of the barometer; its inferior strata are then more dense than the superior strata which compress them; and they become more and more rare as they are elevated in the atmosphere. If their temperature were the same, their heights would increase in arithmetical progression, while their density would diminish in geometrical progression: the elevated regions of the atmosphere being colder than the surface of the earth, the density of the superior strata is a little augmented by the cold. It has been observed, that near the temperature of melting ice, a degree of caloric more or less augments or diminishes the volume of the air by $\frac{1}{330}$; whence it follows that we can correct the effects upon the density of the air arising from variations of temperatures.

* Hence, from the relation between the heights of the atmosphere and its pressure observed by the barometer, we can measure the heights of mountains with this instrument.

* If at all times and in all its extents the heat of the atmosphere be equal to that of melting ice, it follows that by multiplying by 17972.1 metres, the tabular logarithm of the relation of the heights of the barometer observed at any two stations, we shall find the heights of one of these stations above the other. But this height requires a correction relative to the error of the hypothesis of an uniform heat, and of a temperature equal to zero. It is obvious that if the

mean temperature of the stratum of air comprehended between the two stations is greater than zero, its density becomes less ; and we must go to a greater elevation to obtain the same fall of the barometer. We must then augment the multiplier 17972.1 by so many times its 250th part as there are degrees in this mean temperature above zero, which may be done by observing the degrees of the thermometer at the two stations, and by multiplying their sum by 35.944 metres, the product to be added to 17972.1. The density of the mercury must be corrected also by $\frac{1}{1118}$ for each degree of temperature in the two stations, in order to have the height at zero. By means of this rule, we have a very near approximation to the difference of the two heights if the stations are not very far removed from each other.'

In this extract it must be remarked that the measures are French, and the degrees are of the centigrade thermometer.

In the ninth lesson, the consideration of atmospherical phenomena is continued. The different doctrines of the power of air to dissolve or contain water and aqueous vapour are examined at some length, and we have a statement of the opinions of the French philosophers on some of those hypotheses which have recently originated in this island, and which seem to have excited a great deal of discussion, and to have procured some respectable adherents amongst our ingenious and scientific neighbours. We observe the experiments of Mr. Watt on the bulk of steam here detailed, though the name of that philosopher is altered to Walt. The method of measuring the moisture contained in the atmosphere by hygrometers, and that let fall by it by rain-gages is explained, and the results of experiments in various situations are stated. Before the publication of Dalton's Memoirs upon the State of Vapour in the Air, the French in general seem to have been attached to that mode of explaining the evaporation of water, which allows to air a dissolving power by chemical attraction, though at the same time requiring the assistance of caloric. If we may trust this author, the following propositions by Monge constituted the theory of the affinity of air to water.

' 1. The atmospheric air is a true solvent of water ; it is susceptible of saturation by it ; but the point of saturation is variable according to the different temperatures, so that air requires more water to saturate it at high than at low temperatures.

' 2. The point of the saturation of air is variable according to the pressure which it suffers ; so that air absorbs more water to arrive at saturation under a great than under a small pressure.

'3. When air dissolves water and makes it pass into the elastic state, it yields it a part of its caloric, and it suffers a loss of temperature; reciprocally, when air becomes supersaturated by water by any other cause than cooling, the water which it is forced to abandon, restores it the caloric which was employed to hold it in the elastic state, and the air becomes hotter.

'4. The specific gravity of air diminishes in proportion as it holds more water in solution: that is to say, air in dissolving water is augmented in volume proportionally still more than in mass.'

The second of these propositions is not altogether obvious. It is founded upon the fact, that when the air is rarified in an air pump, vapour is produced, which is very true, though the cause is not so certain as is here imagined. In this part of the work it is remarked, that though the clouds formed in the air pump may have been long noticed, yet their application to explain the phenomena of rain is recent, and took place only about twelve years ago in France. Now we have proof that a similar application was made many years before in this country, in an Essay on Rain by Dr. Irvine, who supposed the clouds in the air pump to arise from the diminution of temperature which takes place by experiment, that diminution of temperature from a change of the capacity of the air and vapour for heat, and that change of capacity from rarefaction; and all this he applied to explain the origin of rain.

In an appendix to this lesson we find a recapitulation of the theory mentioned in the body of the work, and an account of Dalton's opinions, and of the impression made by them in France on the minds of some of the distinguished philosophers of that country. Dalton conceives that as water evaporates in vacuo, the attraction of the air has no influence upon it; and he shows that there is a remarkable and beautiful coincidence between the column of mercury sustained by steam formed in a vacuum, and that which can be supported by vapour in the atmosphere at the same temperatures. He attributes the existence of vapour to caloric alone, and explains upon this hypothesis many phenomena with singular clearness and ingenuity. Berthollet, we know, in his *Chemical Statics*, combats this theory, and adduces the instances of nitrous gas and oxygen, as well as those of other aeriform substances, to prove that gaseous bodies may act on each other. Häuy also, in his *Physique Elementaire*, observes that Dalton's hypothesis does not agree with the hydrostatic principle that the pressure to which a fluid is exposed, is equally supported by all parts of it. Laplace, however, has taken a different view, and is disposed to support the opinion of the English philosopher, as far at least as to deny the chemical action

of air upon water or aqueous vapour. The sentiments of that distinguished philosopher are reported in the following terms:

'Permanent gases may be considered as being formed of molecules separated from each other by interposed caloric, and carried to a greater distance than that of their radius of activity; one force tends to approximate them, and that is, the pressure of the weight which they support, and that pressure forms an equilibrium with the expansive effort of the caloric. In this way of considering the constitution of gases it appears that they may exist without affinity between their molecules. The radii of the activity of gases are very different; as long as these radii are less than the distance of the molecules, mixtures of gases of different natures act as mixtures of permanent gases of the same nature; it is thus that oxygen or azotic and carbonic acid gases act in mixture, and when exposed to compression, as if they were altogether composed of molecules, of oxygen, of azote, or of carbonic acid. But when the radii of activity of the molecules of different gases are greater than those of similar molecules, the gases combine in their mixture; and it is thus that the combinations of oxygenous and nitrous, ammoniacal and muriatic, oxymuriatic and sulphurated hydrogenous gases are produced. In the same manner, if we approximate the molecules of permanent gases to a distance less than their radius of activity, they combine; and it is probably by this approximation that water can be formed by compressing oxygenous and hydrogenous gases in a condensing pump, as has been done by Hassensiratz in the Polytechnic school.'

We cannot afford room to extend this extract, which is however sufficiently interesting. The question of which it treats is one of the most curious of meteorology, and is far from being determined to the satisfaction of the philosophical world. The discussion of it has already produced many valuable experiments, and its ingenious and indefatigable author has distinguished himself no less by the novelty of his theoretical conceptions than by the number, the variety, and the clearness of his experimental observations.

The tenth lesson treats chiefly of winds and their causes, and includes a description of the most approved instruments for observing the direction and measuring the force of these aerial currents. In the eleventh lesson the author proceeds to what he calls aqueous meteors or phenomena, such as rain, hail, snow and dew. There is nothing very remarkable in any of these heads, and the only circumstance worthy of notice is a short discussion regarding the probability of good or bad weather following the indication of the barometer. That instrument, it is generally known, measures the weight of the atmosphere, and not its disposition to part with moisture. But it has been observed that a light atmosphere often precedes rainy weather, though by no means constantly.

Sometimes we have rain with a high barometer, and sometimes fair weather when the mercury sinks. According to M. Pujoulx water is dissolved by the air from two causes, heat and pressure, of which one only is indicated by the barometer; and he endeavours to elucidate the proper inferences to be formed from the observation of the state of the mercury in the following passage, which we quote for the benefit of such of our readers as, having little else to do, obtain some relief from the misery of perfect idleness in attending to the changes of the weather.

' Thus by combining these causes two by two we have eight indications, of which four only being the result of the pressure of the air are pointed out by the column of mercury in the barometer. Two are indecisive, since they arise from the united action of the temperature and the density; and the two others depending absolutely on temperature cannot be indicated by this instrument.

' The developement of this proposition may be presented so as to be understood by those even who are not accustomed to calculations. Calling P the pressure, p the change of pressure, T the temperature, t the change of temperature, $P+T$ will indicate the variation.

' We have 1° $P+T+t$ = good weather.

2° $P+T-t$ = rainy

3° $P+T+p$ = good

4° $P+T-p$ = rainy

5° $P+T+t+p$ = good

6° $P+T+t-p$ = good, variable, or rainy in the ratio of the relation of t to p .

7° $P+T-t-p$ = rainy

8° $P+T-t+p$ = good, variable, or rainy in the ratio of the relation of t to p .

' We see then that the barometer only indicates the results of the 3d, 4th, 5th, and 7th, such as they really happen; that with regard to the 6th and 8th it indicates the one in augmentation and the other in diminution, and that the other changes of weather depending on the relations of one and two are not measured by this instrument.'

There is no great reason however to put much faith in this scale in practice, as it must always be a difficult point to ascertain from what cause the rise or fall of the mercury occurs, or rather one wholly out of our power; and the principles upon which the calculation of the above formulæ are made are not unquestionably just.

In the twelfth and last lesson fiery and luminous meteors are the subjects of discussion, and the ordinary theories of their nature and formation are delivered without any thing very peculiar in the method. The work concludes with an explanation of those figures to which we have already alluded.

Upon the whole, this report of the lectures delivered in the French Institute may prove of considerable utility to those

who desire a slight and popular, but correct view of the branches of natural philosophy which it explains. The sketch however is extremely incomplete, and by no means corresponds with our ideas of the extent of that science. In this country courses of natural philosophy for the most part include some account of the mechanical philosophy, of the laws and nature of motion, of optics, of hydraulics, and hydrostatics, of electricity, and of magnetism: all subjects of great interest and importance, susceptible of amusing illustration, and at least as much adapted for the public ear as any part of human knowledge. It is of more consequence however to do well than to do much, and we are unwilling to censure merely for brevity, a fault of which it would sometimes be desirable that we were enabled with justice to complain.

ART. VII.—*Hiob. Ein religiöses Gedicht, aus dem Hebräischen, &c.*

Job; a religious Poem, newly translated from the Hebrew, examined and explained, by Mathias Henry Stuhlman. Hamburg. 8vo. 1806.

THE German language abounds perhaps more than any other in excellent translations of the whole, and of different parts of the Hebrew scriptures. It is besides greatly to the honour of the numerous critics and commentators in that language, that their opinions, equally unbiassed by authority and unfettered by system, are the result of free inquiry and impartial examination. The book of Job has already been illustrated by the elaborate criticisms and penetrating observations of Schultens, Michaelis, Hufnagel, Schnurrer, Eichhorn, &c. But still we welcome every new attempt to elucidate the obscurities, or to heighten the beauty of so difficult but interesting a composition. The book of Job, from the depth of the reflections, the simplicity of the narrative, the sublimity of the style, and the richness of the imagery, will never fail to be perused with singular satisfaction. Its numberless beauties combined with its singular antiquity multiply the attractions and heighten the charm. The author of the present translation appears to have observed a happy medium between a paraphrastic and a literal version, and he has avoided many Hebraisms which disfigure even the translation of Michaelis. Nor does he appear deficient in poetic genius, without a portion of which, no poet can be well translated. The introduction discusses the purpose, plan and antiquity of the book of Job. The author of this poem, says M. Stuhlman, delineates a good man conflicting with

adversity. The object and moral of it is, to warn us against distrust in the divine Providence; and to furnish irrefragable arguments for this belief. But there are who maintain a different supposition; and who consider the discourses of Elihu an unsuitable addition, a part heterogeneous to the whole. According to the account of M. Stuhlman, the poem consists of three different parts; the prologue, the discourses of Elihu, and the epilogue. Each of these he ascribes to a different author. The origin of the poem itself he places in the Ante-Mosaic period; and leaves it undetermined whether the author lived in Egypt or in Idumæa. The prologue, he thinks, was composed by a Jew in the time of the Babylonish captivity. This he infers from the mention of Satan, the knowledge of which personage the Jews are supposed to derive from the Babylonians, and to have thenceforward incorporated into their religious creed. The author of the preface was not acquainted with the discourses of Elihu, since he makes no mention of such discourses, or of the person of Elihu, even though he names the three other persons, (11 Chap. 11. v.) who came, as it is said, 'to mourn with and comfort him,' Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar, who afterwards reprove the want of resignation in the sufferer, and reason with him on the moral government of God. The discourses of Elihu are accordingly of a later origin than the prologue; or, if they had a previous existence, they could not have been found in all the copies, and particularly in that which the author of the prologue employed. The passage xxxiii 30, proves that they are the productions of a later period; nor is the matter in unison with the simple theology of the whole. Even the poetry of these discourses is not so original or elevated as the rest; they seem compiled with more or less success from the poem itself. This reasoning deserves examination, and at least evinces the sagacity of the writer. But with respect to the first point, though we were to allow, what the author assumes, that the writer of the prologue and of the book of Job itself were different, we should still be unwilling to assert that the prologue any more than the epilogue was an useless appendage, nor does the omission of the name of Elihu appear to justify the inference of M. Stuhlman. Though we do not refer the omission to the oscitancy of the writer, which is no improbable supposition, it may still have been occasioned not by negligence but design, as he might choose to mention only the three persons who first visited Job in his affliction, and opened the controversy before Elihu came. With respect to the other arguments, they rest on critical considerations which are not likely to obtain general assent. Many men

of penetration and of taste esteem the discourses of Elihu of equal excellence with the rest. If we find in them a frequent recurrence of the same turns and imagery, we should remember that the same thing is found in other parts of the book; and that the eastern poetry in general revolves in a very confined circle of images and thoughts. Though different hands may at different periods have been employed in the construction of the poem, still the supposition that so considerable a fragment, which is so well compacted with the composition of the whole, should have been the work of a stranger in a later period, if it do not exceed the boundary of belief, is placed far within the line of doubt. But at any rate the fact itself is not susceptible of very cogent or satisfactory proof. When the author says that the book was probably introduced into Palestine by David after his conquest of Idumea, that there are allusive passages to it in the Psalms, that it could hardly have been in the Temple-library, that the arrangement of the whole, is imperfect, that there are many verses out of their proper places; these are assertions which require more copious investigation and more ample proof. We meet with some good remarks on the poetic character of the work; and we shall be happy to hear that the author continues to dedicate his time to the critical elucidation of the ancient and valuable records of the Old Testament.

ART. VIII.—*Dernieres Années du Règne, &c.*

The last Years of the Reign and Life of Lewis XVI. by Francis Huë, one of the Officers of the King's Chamber, called by that Prince to the Honour of remaining with him and the Royal Family after the Day of 10th of August. Deboffe. 1806.

AFTER the publications of Clery and De Moleville, and the works of Mounier and Lacratelle, we confess we did not expect to derive from the work of M. Huë, much additional information regarding the history of Lewis XVI. The circumstances which led to the revolution in France, and the secret springs of action which influenced the conduct of the various parties, are reserved for the enquiries of other men than those who merely officiated about the persons of the royal family. The perusal of the volume before us, has served only to confirm our apprehensions: the most hackneyed anecdotes are introduced into the narrative, with the addition of a few unimportant particulars, which we believe may have never before been presented to the public eye; and

the whole is worked up without much skill in arrangement, or even neatness of language.

As we should have expected from one who had experienced the kindness of so benevolent a master as Lewis, and the persecution of his enemies, our author regards every thing with the eye of prejudice. Every event which tended, however indirectly, to produce the revolution, is held out as an object of horror; and the actors in these scenes of danger and innovation are generally confounded in one indiscriminate sentence of guilt. It is but justice, however, to state, that to this there are some exceptions; and M. Bailly in particular, has obtained from our author that acknowledgment which his amiable virtues must ensure, even from those who condemn the cause in which his zeal was exerted. On the other hand, the characters of Neckar and La Fayette are represented with a degree of illiberality, which is hardly excusable even in the retainer of a court. According to M. Huë, the former of these was actuated in his whole conduct, solely by an inordinate ambition; and his schemes for the reform of the government of France, and the restoration of her ruined finances, are, with a shortsighted fervour, regarded by our author as the causes of all the horrors which followed.

‘What,’ he asks, ‘must be the remorse which he (M. Neckar) must suffer—haunted day and night by the bleeding form of the monarch whose misfortunes he has, innocently *perhaps*, occasioned;—by the angry manes of a million of Frenchmen; by the indignation of his age which condemns him; and by the judgment of posterity which will blast his memory?’ (p. 9.)

And does this weak mortal conceive, that the exertions of M. Neckar were necessary to produce the overthrow of a system already sinking under the load of its own crimes and abuses? or does he mean to assert, that the motives of the minister were dishonest and criminal? In our conception, M. Neckar was the man of all others whose salutary counsels bade fairest to stem the torrent which so speedily overwhelmed France. What would have been the effect of any particular line of conduct, in a crisis so trying, no human abilities can determine; but there is little doubt that the fluctuating conduct of Lewis, and the frequent dismissals and recalls of Neckar, served only to weaken the hands of government, without rendering that minister’s advice of any truly beneficial effect.

The errors of La Fayette are magnified by our author into atrocious crimes, and his character is denounced in the following strain of childish invective.

‘M. de la Fayette possessed no one quality calculated to procure him public esteem. An irresolute character, an imagination

without warmth, a want of facility of expression, marked him with the seal of complete mediocrity. His friends had induced the belief that his natural taciturnity, which arose only from a want of ideas, was deep thought. They had attributed to heroism his first voyage to America, which, according to many, proceeded from nothing but a frivolous motive. In the American war, M. de la Fayette displayed neither the qualities nor the talents of a general: he neither knew how to improve an advantageous occurrence, nor how to produce it.' (p. 120.)

A general error which we observe to pervade the whole of M. Huë's work is a most unaccountable ignorance of the real state of the public mind throughout France at the period of the revolution. If we believed our author we should suppose, that it had been effected by the exertions of a few conspirators, who contrived to seduce the community into rebellion, and not by the universal sense of the corruption of the government, and the inordinate pressure of its burdens. The supposition in itself must appear absurd; but the history of the events of that period, even from the pen of M. Huë, prove that it is totally groundless.

The famous convention of Pilnitz is spoken of by our author in high terms of approbation, although he appears at the same time to be aware of the designs of the confederated powers to take advantage of the weakness of France, and strip her of a part of her possessions.

'The kings of Europe could not arm in a more just or honourable cause. But the convention of Pilnitz, although originating apparently in a feeling of common interest, had not laid to rest those distrusts among sovereigns, those rivalships, and perhaps even those feelings of ambition, which the disorders in France awakened, and might encourage.' (p. 232.)

Nothing can be more true than the reflection of the French monarch on the attempts of the neighbouring potentates to reinstate him on his throne. In conversing upon this subject with M. Malesherbes during his confinement in the Temple, Lewis observed,

'Were the war to effect the re-establishment of my throne, it is at best a violent method, which, far from restoring to me the affections of my people, would only irritate them more. The throne if reconquered by force would every day experience new shocks; while the ruined state of the finances and the suggestions of a wise policy would prevent me from retaining for a length of time in the heart of the country such a number of foreign troops as would enable me to re-establish order. No sooner should they be removed than the factions would renew their intrigues. It would therefore be more fortunate for me, and more safe for the repose of the state, that I should owe the restoration of my authority to the love of the French.' (p. 456.)

Such are the wise and benevolent sentiments of a monarch, whose history must excite in every breast feelings of reverence for his mild and amiable virtues; while we regret that irresolution of character, which, at least, hastened his destruction. We are willing to acknowledge that in many instances his sanction to the decrees of the assembly was forced from him by the menaces of popular fury, and therefore that they cannot be regarded as free acts by which he was bound. But in the perusal of the work before us, we have remarked a propensity in the author, to represent the king as averse from the whole train of measures by which the revolution was effected. For the honour of Lewis, we sincerely hope that his biographer is mistaken in thus attributing to him, feelings so totally hostile to all his professions: nor do we hesitate to assert that whatever reluctance he might testify to some of the proposed measures, yet the great wish of his heart was to give happiness and freedom to his people.

The same prejudiced partiality which we have already noticed, induces our author to set his face against every thing that may reflect in any degree upon the members of the royal family. Thus the red book, which certainly did contain evidence of the most culpable expenditure of the public money, is passed over hurriedly with a violent invective against the Lameths, who are said by him to have been the only persons, on whom the book proved that money had been improperly expended. We heartily wish that this point could be made out, and that the sums given to the French princes during the administration of Calonne, had been applied to the purpose of educating young men of equal merit with the two Lameths. The character of the queen of France, which has been so cruelly aspersed by the malignancy of faction, certainly did call for some exertions in its defence, on the part of one who regarded her with the awe and veneration which our author professes. General assertion however supplies the place of argument, and the detail of facts; and to close the whole, we are presented with the fulsome compliments which the Chev. Boufflers addressed to her, in the year 1789, in the name of the French academy. Sympathising as we do in the misfortunes of the daughter of Maria Theresa, we find it difficult to avoid admitting, that her influence with the king often ruined the best plans of his ministers, and that it is to her we must chiefly attribute that indecision and seeming want of faith with which the king has been so often charged.

After the execution of the king and queen, M. Huë, although he had been twice thrown into confinement, and on the point of being brought to the scaffold, continued with a laudable courage to watch over the fate of the young

prince, and of Madame Royale. An ineffectual attempt was made by this faithful adherent, to gain admittance to the prison of Lewis XVII. to attend upon him, and alleviate his misfortunes. His application to the *committee of public safety* was rejected, and the unfortunate youth was left to languish under all the miseries which a lengthened confinement, and the brutality of his keepers could inflict. The following is the horrid picture which M. Hué presents to us, on the authority of Messieurs Sornin and L'Anes, under whose care the wretchedness of this prince's situation was afterwards in a great degree alleviated. The young prince, whom some of the regicides called the young wolf of the Temple, was abandoned to the brutality of a monster named Simon, who had formerly been a shoemaker, a debauched drunken gambler. The age, the innocence, the misfortunes, the beauty, the languor and the tears of the royal infant had no power to soften this ferocious keeper; one day, while intoxicated, Simon struck him with a towel, and nearly plucked out the eye of the young prince, whom he had forced by a refinement of outrage to serve him at table.

'Capet,' says Simon to him one day, 'what wouldst thou do to me if these *Vendeiens* were to deliver thee?' 'I would pardon you,' replied the young king. Some months after, Simon having been removed from the tower of the Temple, Lewis XVII. remained alone, unprovided with linen or clothes, deprived of all those attentions which were necessary for his age, and entirely at the mercy of the turnkeys. No one made his bed or swept his chamber. His bed clothes were never changed. In the morning and evening they threw to him, rather than presented, some coarse food. Each day new commissaries for the guard of the tower replaced those of the preceding evening. Under the pretext that they must ascertain the presence of their young captive, they called out at the door of his chamber, at all times of the day, and sometimes even during the night, 'Capet, Capet, are you there?' The child suddenly awaking started up in terror saying in a trembling voice, 'Here I am; what do you want?'—'Lay down again,' replied these Cerberuses. (P. 475.)

On the liberation of Madame Royale, now Duchesse d'Angouleme, which took place in 1795, our author accompanied her to Vienna, and afterwards assisted at her marriage in Courland; thus conducting out of France the last relic of the Bourbons which that country contained.

After what we have already said, perhaps it would be injustice not to add, that the work is very handsomely printed, and contains a portrait of Lewis XVI. engraved with great smoothness and delicacy: of the design, which is by M.

Hu  , we cannot say much; but it seems to have cost him no small trouble, if we may judge from his anxiety to explain it, and to tell us what we cannot fail to perceive if we look at the engraving. If these circumstances, and the very particular manner in which he has named the *gardes du corps* who fell in the different struggles at the commencement of the revolution, do not ensure a sale for this volume, we fear we cannot flatter the author with any great hopes from the merit of the work as a literary production.

ART. IX.—*Th  orie du Monde politique, &c.*

Theory of the political World, or of the Science of Government, considered as an exact Science. By Ch. Ilio. 8vo. Paris. 1806. Imported by Deconchy.

WE have read this tract without being much wiser than we were before. It is one of those superficial performances, which are continually issuing from the French press; but what political work of the least value or importance can we expect to issue from the French press, while it continues to be watched by the jealousy or overawed by the frowns of Fouch  , Talleyrand or Buonaparte? There is a certain class of writers, who are very happy in giving new names to some very familiar and well known truths, and who thus think that they have made some wonderful discovery, because they find that what was true when expressed one way is equally true when expressed another. This author calls what commonly passes under the denomination of the executive power, *l'homme-pouvoir*; and this *homme-pouvoir* or power man or man of power should, he says, possess *une force d'impulsion*, or force of impulsion, which is to give life to the government. He moreover tells us that this *homme-pouvoir* should have the *exclusive initiative* of every law, or of what he calls *toutes les volont  s g  n  rales*; for the author seems to think that plain sense would not be good for much if it were conveyed in plain language. He adds that the *corps sociaux*, we suppose that he means the deliberative and judicial powers, should only be employed to sanction those primary motions or *exclusive initiatives* of the executive. Thus therefore he would give the legislative body no power of originating laws, but only of ratifying such laws as the executive might think proper to propose. If this would not prove the subversion of liberty, what would? This author seems to think it more wise to give the legislative a sort of *veto* on the motions of the executive, than, according to the common m  -

thod, to enable the executive to negative the will of the deliberative power. It cannot be supposed that the executive would ever propose any laws which should set limits to its own power, or which should in any respect circumscribe its exercise; yet such laws may be often necessary: and though in constitutions where the legislative body may originate such laws, it cannot cause them to be enacted without the concurrence of the executive, yet the mere discussion of them in the legislature, will often produce such a force of public opinion in their favour, as will render it neither very wise nor very safe for the executive to refuse to ratify what the general will demands. The executive power may possess the disposal of the whole public force, and yet where all measures may be freely discussed and laws freely proposed in the legislative body, that body will soon be armed with a moral force, the force of public opinion, which will in the end be no unequal match for the physical force of the sovereign. But where a legislative body is deprived of the power of proposing laws, it can be considered as little better than an assembly, whose sole occupation it is to register the edicts of the sovereign.

ART. X.—*Russland unter Alexander dem Ersten, &c.*

Russia under Alexander the First. An historical Journal, published by H. Storch. Seven Vols. 8vo. with Charts, Copper-plates and Tables. Petersburg. 1805.

M. STORCH had formerly published a Picture of Russia and Petersburg, which was rendered equally attractive by the subject and by the mode of execution. The present Journal, which contains a greater variety of matter, will furnish ample materials to the future historian, who wishes to delineate a government, which is equally remarkable for its beneficence, its justice and its wisdom. In this journal the author makes mention of every thing which concerns the politics, business, trade, arts and sciences, education, progress of civilization, manners, &c. In the political part, the new constitution demands the first place; and from this point of view we survey the legislative provisions of the present emperor. The object of both is to transform the autocracy of the prince into the sovereignty of the law. The introduction of a new government is announced in the establishment of a perpetual council, the abolition of the secret inquisition, the new organization of the senate, and many other measures, the sole object of which appears to be the public good. The

emperor,' says the writer, 'is only the executor and guardian of the law; the law is above him, and the exercise of the sovereignty consists in a conformity to the law.' The medal, which has been cast, well expresses this character; we see the image of the emperor in the front, the crown resting on a strong pillar in the reverse, with the inscription, *Lakon* (the law). If the constitution have not accurately drawn the line between the rights of the crown and of the senate, and if, in surveying the plan of legislation, many parts are not disposed in their proper places, we shall find ample compensation in the liberality with which the one promoted, and the noble views with which the other opposed an *immediate* legal constitution. Even the annals of the criminal jurisprudence clearly shew of what the kingdom stood most in need. The author enumerates the several philanthropic institutions for the relief of the poor and distressed, which seem to be under the most judicious management, and subject to the wisest regulations. The emperor prosecutes the system of colonization in his extensive dominions, in the same spirit and on the same plan as the empress Catharine; and many beneficial effects have been the result. Vaccination has made a rapid progress in this vast territory; and even been widely diffused over Siberia. From the amount of the military recruits the author concludes that the population of the Russian empire considerably exceeds 40 millions: for, only two men taken from every five hundred, amounted to more than 74,000. Thus Russia contains more than 18½ millions of males; and, allowing the number of females, which is probably greater, to be only the same, the sum of the population, without reckoning the numerous exemptions, will be 37 millions. What is the intellectual and moral progress which Russia is making under its humane sovereign, it may be difficult to determine; but we may certainly affirm that few governments have paid so much attention to the promotion of knowledge and morals, have exhibited such a comprehensive mind, such enlarged and methodical views, so much liberality and patience, so much art in persuading by example, as that of the emperor Alexander I. The ministry, which has been appointed for the instruction of the people, already expresses the determinate tendency of the government; and since both the education of youth and the diffusion of science have been made part of their province, *the previous principles, for the execution of the general plan*, were the means of convincing the prince (who terms this part of his political administration superior to every other in importance), that the choice of the persons corresponded with his wishes. It would lead us into too great length, only to enumerate the articles

which appear under the title, *public instruction*. The government employs every means in its power to excite the free and vigorous exercise of the mind. The first great step which it took for this purpose, was the ukase of 9th February 1802, in which the office of censor was subjected to new regulations; and though books which contain any thing contrary to religion, to government or good morals may still be subject to prohibition, yet the spirit of the government is the best commentary on the act, and at least, thus much has been gained, that the office of censor has been transferred from the police to the universities, with the exception of St. Petersburg. The order respecting the censorship of the press, of 1804, served to prevent some mistakes in the execution, or some doubts in the interpretation of the first. Besides this circulation of ideas and of knowledge with foreigners, the most animated encouragement is afforded to literary pursuits. The second class of the order of St. Anne is given to almost all writers of merit and in the service of the state; others receive boxes, rings, medals, money for travelling, for printing their works, &c. &c.; and many are the institutions which have been enriched by the munificence of the sovereign. We know not which most to admire, the grandeur of the gift or the delicacy of the giver. The author has collected and published every thing relative to the improvement and diffusion of instruction; but still he has been less communicative than we could have wished, in respect to the inferior schools, and the contrary, in respect to the universities, institutions for a particular purpose, the academies, and private literary corporations. He has devoted so much space to the accounts of the six universities, that of St. Petersburg excepted, that he has mentioned the charters, plan of lectures, the celebrated foreign teachers, the visitations, statutes, boundaries, travels of the learned, &c. &c. Though an university has been founded at St.-Petersburg we have met with no particular account of it. The institutions of instruction for *particular purposes*, are continually increasing. There are agricultural schools at Petersburg, Moscow, Kaluga, Mzenok, a commercial school at Odessa, many military schools at St. Petersburg, a pilot-school at Cronstadt for the Baltic fleet, a school for naval architecture at Petersburg; veterinary schools at St. Petersburg, Moscow, Lubny. The Russian academy which the empress Catharine established for the promotion of the languages, and particularly for the improvement of the Russian language, and which was deprived of all support under Paul, has been restored by the present emperor. The imperial academy of sciences at St. Petersburg, which is subject to new regulations, proposed

prize questions and bestows premiums, while it sends pupils to study in foreign parts. The academy of medicine and surgery is considerably enlarged. The emperor is anxious to lay the basis of moral improvement in the instruction of the schools, as well as by more direct encouragements and rewards. The virtue and sobriety of the emperor himself, his retrenchment of all superfluous expense, as of four millions in his household, his boundless beneficence, when any good is to be produced, must operate very forcibly and auspiciously on the public morals. Under the title of *noble and patriotic actions*, M. Storch has collected numerous particulars, which bear ample testimony to the generous sentiments and increasing civilization of the people of this mighty empire. The satisfaction which this pleasing picture excites, is indeed a little abated by the murder of General Boek by his peasants whom he had loaded with benefits; by 512 murders, and 582 suicides, which took place in the year 1803. But when we compare the present times with the past, we shall see that no small progress in civilization has been made, when, out of every 88,000 men, only one has been a murderer or murdered. The emperor has endeavoured to render the theatre subservient to the moral culture of the people. The religious illumination of a people will be better promoted by passive means than by active interference; and, in this respect, the emperor is greater in what he does not do, than in what he does. Soon after his accession to the crown, the emperor defined the rights of the nobility and other classes of men, which had become so precarious under the former government. The nobles enjoy the privilege of first proposing candidates from amongst their own order, for political situations under the government, &c. The last of a noble family possesses the right of disposing of the family estate. The clergy are exempted from all corporeal punishments; the country clergy are excited to turn their attention to agriculture; their office is thereby rendered more useful, and the condition of the citizens and boors has been improved. Since the publication of the ukase of 20th Feb. 1803, 16,000 persons have, in the course of two years, risen to the condition of free husbandmen. The article entitled *the new organization of the Cossacs*, combines all the ukases and descriptions. *The economical administration*, exhibits such sound principles as promise the most beneficial consequences. Such encouragements have been afforded to agriculture during the present reign, and such wise measures adopted, that even the roving tribes of Tartars, &c. begin to adopt habits of tillage. *The instructions of the minister of the interior*, Count Kotsehubie, form a new epoch in the administration. In comprehension,

in unreserved communication, in method, and precision, these instructions appear to excel Necker's *Compte rendu*; and while they diffuse such an uncommonly clear light over the political state of Russia, they contain principles which merit an admission into all the cabinets of Europe. In one part of the work, M. Storch exhibits in 21 tables a clear and luminous view of the trade of Russia in all its branches, in the years 1802 and 1803. Besides this we have a description of the new canals which have been finished in the present reign, or which are begun and not yet finished. We are next presented with an account and engraving of the new exchange at St. Petersburg, a magnificent pile of building, 222 feet wide by 234 feet long. The new harbour at Arbat on the sea of Asoph for the reception of merchant vessels, was to be finished in 1807, at the expence of 62,691 rubles. In one paper we have an accurate representation of the origin, the progress, and the present state of the Russian army; and in another we find a description of the Russian marine; an historical view of its commencement, its gradual increase and present situation. At the conclusion of the year 1803 the whole mass of regulars amounted to 395,287 men, including 3316 cavalry and 9305 infantry of the guards; 49,738 marching cavalry, 219,125 infantry, 70,884 garrison troops, 42,919 artillery. The number of invalids amounted to 12,770 men, of irregular troops to 98,211, and a field-battalion of Greeks of 461 men, making a total of 493,959 men; exclusive of 13,084 officers of the staff and superior officers, with a multitude of priests, surgeons, &c.

In the second account, which comprehends the minutest details of the marine, we find that the whole number of sound, useful, and new ships amounted to 32 of the line, 18 frigates, 5 transports, 226 gallies, making in all 5598 guns. The numerous mutilations which people practise in order to render themselves unfit for military service, prove the general aversion from that kind of life. The measures which are taken to prevent this, are severe but not cruel; no corporeal punishment is inflicted, but the family is made answerable. These mutilations prevail most in the governments of Simbirsk, Kasan, Orenburg, Wjatka and Nishegorod; there are villages which cannot furnish a single recruit.—The journal affords but a scanty detail of foreign politics; but the author has published the diplomatic correspondence between Russia and France from the 16th of May to the 16th of August, 1804; and we are obliged to him for more accurate copies than appeared in the newspapers, as well as for an introduction which breathes the true spirit of patriotism.

The geographical part of this journal is less comprehensive and valuable than the rest. The article entitled the *reorganized constitution* of the empire is the most important. The author shews the resemblances and the difference between this and the constitution which was introduced by the empress Catharine, and corrects the errors of most geographers, who suppose both to be the same. Few governments have with their names retained their former divisions; some are divided into more towns and districts; most have experienced diminution. The Russian Atlas, which came out at the end of the reign of Catharine, is rendered of little use by the new alterations. The first voyage of the Russians round the world, which was undertaken in the reign of the emperor Alexander, at the expence and for the benefit of the Russian and American company, is here copiously described. The accounts of the Russian mission to Japan in the year 1792 and 1793, go back as far as that of Captain Spanzenberg in the year 1738, and communicates an extract from the valuable journal of Lieutenant Adam Laxmann.—In the historical part we meet with a biographical sketch of Suwarrow, which contains some new and interesting information relative to that extraordinary character. In the moral details of M. Storch, we meet with accounts of actions which prove, as we have observed before, the increasing civilization of the people, and the wisdom and beneficence of the present government. The emperor Alexander appears to be one of those few crowned heads, whom we can contemplate with unmingled satisfaction. The object of his life seems to be the happiness of the people whom he rules. If we may judge from the measures of his reign, his mind is cast in no common mould; and his heart expands with sensations of benevolence, which, if they often inspire the exertions of the philosopher, we have seldom seen very operative in those who sway the sceptre of nations.

ART. XI.—*Campagnes des Français à St. Domingue, &c. Campaigns of the French in St. Domingo, and a Refutation of the Attacks made upon General Rochambeau, by Ph. Albert de Lattre, Ex-Minister of the War-Department for St. Domingo. 8vo. Paris. 1805. Imported by Deconchy.*

WHILST the kingdoms of civilized Europe are daily suffering beneath the scourge of revolutionary phrenzy, an

event of the most astonishing nature has occurred among the barbarians of the Western hemisphere. A race of men formerly thought incapable of entertaining a rational idea, have suddenly emerged from slavery to empire; and have in their turn exercised the most despotic tyranny over their once despotic masters. The loss of St. Domingo, so important to France, our author ascribes to the infernal policy of England.

'The English,' says he, 'have pierced the bosom of the nurse of France. The genius, the preserver of France, had applied the salutary balm, which would have healed all her wounds; but the dæmon who presides over the destinies of England, spread through the colony his poisonous breath, and aggravated the disease. The prosperity of France depends upon the restoration of St. Domingo; the tranquillity of Europe is interested in that colony being peaceably possessed by France, if they wish to avoid the return of the fifteenth century, and not to oblige her to become upon the continent a second Rome. This is what the English desire, because they cannot ensure their existence without delivering up the continent to carnage. They are enraged that the cabinet of the Thuilleries wish all nations to cultivate commerce in security. Venice in the possession of Austria, gives them umbrage; they know that the Venetians have ruled the seas, and that they have enjoyed the commerce of India, through Egypt; they are afraid lest they should recover their ancient glory.'

We shall not insult the understandings of our readers by the slightest attempt to refute the various attacks upon the character and government of our country, which occur in this publication, as they are too contemptible to excite indignation, and are merely the angry overflowings of a disappointed ambition. Who for instance will think it worth his while to listen to a vindication of Englishmen from the charge of piracy, or the insinuation that in England 'high-way robbery is reckoned one of the rights of men?'

There is however one accusation of so ludicrous a nature, that we cannot resist the opportunity of indulging our readers with a hearty laugh.

'The cabinet of St. James's' (p. 22.) 'in order to attain its ends, began with making the English abjure the religion of their fathers, because it had for its basis the love of their neighbour, and unity among men. The religion of England affords this advantage to the cabinet of St. James's, that it dispenses with *auricular confession*. Its antisocial policy stifles the remorse of conscience. What may not be dreaded from such a government?!!'

If Mr. Perceval had read this book, we do not doubt but he would have imputed to the late ministers the intention of

restoring the Roman catholic religion in compliance with the wishes of Ph. Albert de Lattre.

The charges which have been brought against General Rochambeau, are twelve in number: as it would exceed the limits allotted in our Review to articles of this description, we shall notice only the eleventh, which treats of the surrender of the artillery to Dessalines. It must be recollected, that at the time when General Rochambeau treated with Dessalines, it was impossible to retain the Cape.

' The evacuation of the Cape was forced; that of the mole of St. Nicholas must soon follow. It was better to prevent the English from making themselves masters of a part of the colony, and particularly from taking possession of this last place, that they might not make it a pretext for compensation at the time of a general peace. It was a wise policy therefore which dictated, though with regret, the placing of the negroes in a situation to resist England; to punish thereby her perfidy towards France, and to destroy her projects. It would have been a better expedient, it has been said, to surrender the artillery to the English. Doubtless it would, were they actuated by the principles of other civilized nations; but they are more barbarous than the negroes. Their character is worse than that of the robbers of Tunis and Algiers. They would have sold the artillery for a thousand times its value to the negroes, and they would have obliged them, from the want which they felt of it, to deliver up to them their principal places.

' By delivering this artillery to the English, they would have left themselves entirely at their discretion, and it is well known with what barbarity the latter conducted themselves at Port au Prince, where they gave up a part of the inhabitants to be massacred, by opening the gates of the city to the negroes, before the colonists were embarked, who wished to follow the army. They would have acted in the same manner at the Cape. The death of a Frenchman inspires the English with the most atrocious joy. It is, they say, *one Frenchman less*.

' In order to render the negroes independent of the English, the general then was obliged to abandon the artillery to them. But say his adversaries, by so doing he put the negroes in a condition to resist the French, when they should again display the Imperial flag at St. Domingo. The English, it has been proved, instigated the revolt of the negroes. When they were subdued by General Le Clerc, they caused them to revolt; and though at peace with France, they furnished them with artillery, with arms and ammunition.

' It has been pretended that the commander in chief ought to have thrown the cannon, arms, and ammunition into the sea. The general and his soldiers would have perished to a man sooner than have renounced the honours of war. The delivery of the artillery to the negroes, gave them ten whole days to evacuate the place, which enabled the inhabitants of the Cape to follow the

army. As to the English, they from the first refused to grant the troops the honours of war; they demanded the feeble remains of the army to surrender at discretion. The commander in chief notified to them, that if they persisted in their pretensions, which were dishonourable, he would set fire to the frigates and French ships which were at anchor in the bay, and that he would endeavour to force his way with the troops to St. Domingo, though certain of perishing from the overpowering numbers of the negroes. He would then have been obliged to abandon the Cape to the ferocity of the English and the negroes. Can any thing be conceived more cruel? Lives there a Frenchman who would have been savage enough to throw the artillery into the sea, with a certainty that by this action he should condemn his brave troops, and the whole white population to inevitable destruction? Soldiers, who had the courage to die when their honour was at stake, surrendered their artillery to save the lives of seven thousand old men, women, and children. They had the honours of war. The massacres which followed on the evacuation of the Cape, are to be ascribed to the barbarous policy of the cabinet of St. James's!!!

Such is the defence of every accusation alledged against General Rochambeau, and such the groundless anger and contemptible spite of the author against our brave and generous countrymen.

RETROSPECT

OF

FOREIGN LITERATURE.

FRANCE.

ART. 12.—*La Bataille d' Austerlitz, &c.*

The Battle of Austerlitz. By the Austrian Major-General Stutterheim. 8vo. 1806. Imported by Deconchy.

THE consequences of the battle of Austerlitz were too fatal to the cause of Europe, not to render a detailed account of it interesting, even to the reader, who has no skill in military tactics. The author of the present publication, commanded a brigade of Austrians on that memorable day; and, as under a government like that of Austria, he would hardly have ventured to publish the particulars (at least with his name attached to it), unless he felt himself sanctioned by the highest authority, it may fairly be considered as the official Austrian account of the battle.

At any rate the work bears evident internal evidence of authenti-

city. The author nowhere attempts to conceal or palliate the inability or the mistakes of the generals of the allied army, nor to undervalue the marked and superior talents of the enemy. The particulars will be peculiarly interesting to military readers. The general causes of the eventual result of this great engagement, are thus summarily drawn up :

‘ It will not have escaped the observation of the experienced soldier, that it is principally to the following causes that the loss of this battle is to be attributed. To the want of correctness in the information possessed by the allies, as to the enemy’s army; to the bad plan of attack, supposing the enemy to have been entrenched in a position which he did not occupy; to the movements executed the day before the attack, and in sight of the enemy, in order to gain the right flank of the French; to the great interval between the columns when they quitted the heights of Pratzen; and to their want of communication with each other. To these causes may be attributed the first misfortunes of the Austro-Russian army. But, in spite of these capital errors, it would still have been possible to restore the fortune of the day in favour of the allies, if the second and third columns had thought less of the primary disposition, and attended more to the enemy, who by the boldness of his manœuvre, completely overthrew the basis on which the plan of attack was founded.’

It is obvious from the whole tenor of General Stutterheim’s account, that the battle of Austerlitz was a contest of genius against incapacity. Many a man may be able to manœuvre 10, 15, or 20 thousand men with credit and success, who would feel himself utterly incompetent to the command of a larger army. Kutusow indeed, the commander in chief, was at the commencement of the action completely disconcerted by a movement of the enemy, which took him by surprise, and let him know that he was attacked, when he had intended and fancied himself to be the assailant. The combined troops are represented by our author to have amounted to 82,000; but a French officer, who has republished this work at Paris with notes, remarks that the Austrian general has evidently diminished the real strength of the allies by one-fifth. We are not able to settle this difference.

This publication has lately been translated by Major Coffin, assistant quarter-master general in the British service. British military officers, though possessed of acknowledged and transcendent bravery, are in general scandalously ignorant of their profession. It gives us real pleasure whenever we see any of them rising above their fellows, and improving their minds by useful professional knowledge.

ART. 13.—*Clef des Phénomènes de la Nature, &c.*

A Key to the Phenomena of Nature, or the living Earth. By M. Chevreul Dessaudrais, formerly an Advocate in St. Domingo. pp. 267. 8vo. Paris. 1806. Imported by Deconchy.

THAT France should have her Brodums, Guests, and Siblys, is

perfectly natural. M. Dessaudrais is of the same genus. He candidly avows however his consciousness of being mad, and to that effect consulted his physician, who assured him, after feeling his pulse, that he was not a fit patient for the *petites maisons*. We are of the same opinion, as we are not disposed to apprehend any serious consequences, from the author's renewal of the obsolete notion of our globe's being a living animal, a huge tortoise. M. Dessaudrais is also seriously grieved that his animal-earth should live alone, as he considers the animal-moon to be at too great a distance to be a husband to the animal-earth, which he likewise apprehends never sleeps. The elegant *niaiserie* and sentimental *sottise* of St. Pierre were tolerable ; but the tasteless, vulgar *galimatias* of the present writer are beneath contempt.

ART. 14. *De l'Indigestion, &c.*

Observations on Indigestion : in which is satisfactorily shewn the Efficacy of Ipecacuanha in relieving this, as well as its connected Train of Complaints peculiar to the Decline of Life. By M. Daubenton, Member of the Royal Med. Soc. &c. Paris. Imported by De Conchy.

THIS is a memoir which which was read many years ago by its very respectable author, before the Parisian Royal Society of Medicine. Its object is to recommend the use of ipecacuanha to relieve that system of indigestion, which depends on a debility of the coats of the stomach. In consequence of this (an affection which is apt to be very harrassing in old age, though not peculiar to that time of life,) this organ becomes unable to expel its contents, it becomes loaded with flatulence, and a train of depressive and distressing symptoms are produced. To relieve these, M. Daubenton had recourse in his own person, to the use of very small quantities of this medicine taken early in the morning, when the stomach is empty, himself a medical practitioner ; but experiencing relief from this practice, benevolence prompted him to communicate it for the use of others. The original having become very scarce,* the translator (Dr. A. P. Buchan) thought it would be useful to diffuse by the medium of an English dress, a practice which promises to be beneficial, and which is but little known in this country. We believe he has judged right : for we find that this little tract, which bears strong characteristics both of a sound judgment, and a lively imagination, has, in the course of a very short time, arrived at a second edition. a cogent proof, as the translator observes, either that the complaints, for which the author recommends this medicine, are very prevalent, or that the afflicted have derived benefit from the use of it. The first hypothesis we know to be true. We wish that the second may be so likewise.

* The English translation is published by Collow, price 1s. 6d.

ART. 15.—*Histoire Abrégé de la Campagne de Napoleon, &c.*
An Abridgment of the Campaigns of Napoleon the Great in Germany
and Italy until the Peace of Presburg, revised and corrected by an
Eye Witness, and dedicated to the Grand Army. Paris. 12mo. 1806.
 Imported by Deconchy.

WHOEVER has read the *Moniteur*, has read this book. The motto prefixed to it is horrible blasphemy. Alluding to Buonaparte, the author has prefixed these words: 'Fuit homo missus a Deo.'

GERMANY.

ART. 16.—*Actennässige geschichte der Räuber-Banden, &c.*
Judicial History of the Banditti on both Banks of the Rhine. By Citi-
zen Becker, Justice of Peace in the District of Simmern. 8vo.
2 vol. Cologne. 1806.

AT the conclusion of the war between France and Germany at the end of the last and the beginning of the present century, numerous bands of robbers were formed in the countries bordering on the Rhine and the Moselle, which had suffered so much by the ravages of war, and who perpetrated an incredible number of devastations, which were often accompanied with circumstances of the most revolting cruelty. These persons were not suppressed, or at least dispersed without incredible pains and considerable difficulty. The author gives an account of the atrocities which were committed by this banditti, with the apprehension and punishment of the principal offenders. They had formed themselves into nine gangs or classes, which were named from the places or countries from which they came. The history of the two first classes, or of the Holland and Brabant gangs, is given in the first volume; and the second describes the robberies and murders of the rest. The seven last gangs consisted according to computation, of 205 persons, who had committed 360 robberies, and to the amount of three and a half millions of francs. Notwithstanding all the pains which were taken, we are informed that 124 of these criminals escaped from the hands of justice. Though the multitude of atrocities which are here related, cannot but produce horror and disgust, yet the history is in many respects instructive both to the moralist and the judge. Among the most depraved of these miscreants, we sometimes remark a trait of virtue or of sensibility, as was evinced in Buckler the victorious leader of the Moselle gang in the affection for his wife; and in Fetzer the chief of the Neuwied-band in the tender concern and fondness for his children. And the judge will find many interesting hints with respect to the confession of criminals.

AMERICA.

ART. 17.—*The Gleaner, a miscellaneous Production, in three Vols.*
12mo. By Constantia. Published according to Act of Congress.
Boston.

THE generality of these essays were first published in the *Massachusetts Magazine*; the favourable reception which they met with no

their first appearance induced the ingenious authoress to publish them collectively; yet through extreme diffidence she has forborne to indulge us with her name. Reader, the 'Gleaner' of America which we here recommend to thy notice, is not a collection of epitaphs or old women's stories, such as the 'Gleaner through England and Wales' has of late favoured us with, but an assemblage of moral essays, criticisms, and historical characters, written for the most part in language clear and expressive. The greatest fault which we find in this transatlantic writer, is that she is too flowery, and sometimes affected; that her compound words are too numerous, and not always elegant; that she adopts words which are unknown in the mother-country, such as *grade*, *approve*, *celebrious*, *orphanage*, *tempest*, (used as a verb,) and many others of American growth, and that her quotations from poets in blank verse, are printed like prose, no attention being made to metrical arrangement. Notwithstanding these faults, which in an English author would be considered inexcusable, we should be happy to see them reprinted in this country, which the authoress is desirous of doing, if they meet with a favourable reception from the critics, to whom she has sent them over from America for the purpose. We shall present our readers with a pretty long extract, from which they will be able to form some judgment concerning Constantia:

'I do conceive that the hand of skilful cultivation may implant an ardent thirst for knowledge; or, in other words, a love of reading in that mind of which it was not the original growth; nay, further, I affirm, upon the authority of experience, that the useful and fertile exotic will take as deep root, flourish as luxuriantly, and produce as plentiful a harvest, as in its native soil; and perhaps the conformation of this artificial taste, is one of the *most eligible uses which can be made of novel reading*. Curiosity in the minds of young people is generally if not always upon the wing; and I have regarded curiosity, combined with necessity, as the grand stamina of almost every improvement. Narrative, unencumbered with dry reflections, and adorned with all the flowers of fiction, possesses for the new plumed fancy a most fascinating charm; attention is arrested, every faculty of the soul is engaged, and the pages of the interesting and entertaining novelist are almost devoured. Thus an attachment to reading is formed, and this primary object once obtained, in that paucity of those kind of writings, *which the watchful parent will know how to create*, the entertaining biographer will become an acceptable substitute; the transition to history will be in course; geography constitutes an essential part of history; and the annals of the heavenly bodies will ultimately be studied with avidity. Pope's Homer may originate a taste for poetry, even in the very soul of frigidity; and a perusal of the beautifully diversified and richly ornamented numbers of the Adventurer, induces a peregrination through every essay which has been written, from the days of their great primogenitors, Steele and Addison, down to the simple numbers of the humble Gleaner. In this view, novels may be considered as rendering an important service to society; and I question whether there is not less risk in

placing volumes of this kind in the hands of girls of *ten or twelve years of age*, than during that interesting period which revolves from *fifteen to twenty*. The mind is instructed with much more facility at an early age, than afterwards ; and I have thought that many a complete letter writer has been produced from the school of the novelist ; and hence, possibly, it is, that females have acquired so palpable a superiority over us, in this elegant and useful art. Novels, I think, may very properly and advantageously constitute the *amusement* of a girl from *eight to fourteen years of age, provided always that she pursues her reading under the judicious direction of her guardian friend* ; by the time she hath completed her fourteenth year (supposing the voice of well judged and tender premonition has occasionally sounded in her ears) I am mistaken if her understanding will not have made such progress, as to give her to rise from the table with proper ideas of the lightness of the repast ; of the frivolity of those scenes to which she hath attended ; of their insufficiency, as sources of that kind of information which is the offspring of truth, and of their inability to bestow *real knowledge*, or those substantial qualities that nerve the mind, and endow it with the fortitude so necessary in the career of life.

‘ Under the requisite guidance, she will learn properly to appreciate the heroes and heroines of the novelist ; repetition will create satiety, and she will have risen from the banquet before the consequences of her intoxication can materially injure her future life. She will have drank largely, it is true, but revolving hours will give her to recover from her inebriety, and happily those hours will intervene ere yet she is called to act the part assigned her ; and she will have extracted every advantage within the reach of possibility from this line of reading, while the pernicious effects attributed thereto, can in no respect essentially hurt her.

‘ When a torrent of novels bursts suddenly on a girl, who, bidding adieu to childhood, hath already entered a career, to her of such vast importance, the evils of which they may be productive are indeed incalculable ! Aided by a glowing imagination, she will take a deep interest in the fascinating enthusiasm they inspire ; each gilded illusion will pass for a splendid reality ; *she will sigh to become the heroine of the drama ; and, selecting her hero, it is possible she may be precipitated into irremediable evil, before she may have learned to make a just estimation of the glittering trifles by which she is thus captivated*. I say, therefore, I would confine novels to girls from eight to fourteen years of age ; and I would then lay them by, for the amusement of those vacant hours, which, in advanced years, are frequently marked by a kind of *ennui*, the result, probably, of a separation from those companions, with whom we have filled the more busy scenes of life

‘ I grant that novels, and a proper direction, might be made much more extensively subservient to the well being of society, than, with a *very few exceptions*, they have ever yet been. Was not love, *unconquerable, unchanging, and omnipotent, their everlasting theme*, they might abound with precepts and examples conducive to the best of

purposes. This remark leads to the consideration of the question proposed by my anxious correspondent. *In my toleration of novels, have I not exercised a discriminating power?* Most assuredly I have. There is a class of novels, and of plays, which it appears to me should be burnt by the hands of the common executioner; and were it not that the *good natured world* generally takes part with the sufferer, I could wish to see strong marks of public odium affixed upon the authors of those libidinous productions.

‘But it is as painful to dwell upon subjects of reprehension as it is pleasurable to hold the pen of panegyric—let me hasten, therefore, to a selection which I have conceived indisputably worthy of preference; and, in the first grade of those writings, that take rank under the general description of novels, and that are entitled to the highest notes of eulogy, I have been accustomed to place the history of *Clarissa Harlowe*.

‘In my decided approbation of this admired production, I have the satisfaction to reflect that I am not singular. My paternal grandfather, who was one of the most respectable characters of the era in which he lived, indulged, perhaps to excess, an invincible aversion to novels. Yet, the Holy Bible and *Clarissa Harlowe*, were the books in which he accustomed his daughters to read alternately, during those hours in which he attended to them himself. The Rev. James Hervey, Rector of Weston Favell, in Northamptonshire in England, celebrated as well for an exemplary life and purity of manners, as for the elegance and piety of his literary compositions, in a treatise written upon the education of daughters, recommends *Clarissa*, as a suitable present to those young ladies, who are to be trained in the paths of virtue and propriety; and a late writer, has asserted, that *Clarissa Harlowe* is the *first human production now extant*. He hesitates not to place it, for *literary excellence*, above the *Iliad of Homer*, or any other work, ancient or modern, the sacred oracles excepted.

‘But without taking it upon me to defend this opinion, I will only say, that it appears to me admirably well calculated as a useful companion for a female, from the first dawn of her reason, to the closing scene of life. It has been said that many a *Lovelace* has availed himself of plots, fabricated and developed in those volumes, which would never else have entered his imagination—be it so, I only contend for the placing them in female hands; and I affirm that they contain the best code of regulations, the best directions in every situation which they exemplify; in one word, the best model for the sex, that I have ever yet seen portrayed. The character of *Clarissa*, it has been asserted, is too highly wrought: but I ask, what perfection did she possess that we should be willing to dispense with, in the female, whom we should delineate as an accomplished woman? Was I to advance an objection against a work of such acknowledged merit, I would say that it is the character of *Lovelace*, and more particularly of the *Sinclairs*, the *Martins*, the *Hortons*, and the *Harlows*, of those pages, which are too highly wrought. It is surely much more easy to conceive of an

amiable woman, acting precisely as did Clarissa, than of that degree of turpitude and inexorable severity, which must have preceded the perpetration of actions so black, and the manifestation of rigour so ill founded and unrelenting.

‘It has been generally imagined that Clarissa’s only deviation from strict propriety, consisted in her flight from the protection of her father; but a moment’s reflection will evince the error of this conclusion; *that cannot be a fault to which I am compelled.* Clarissa met her betrayer with a design to remonstrate, and to conciliate, but with a *determined resolution not to abandon the paternal mansion*; it appears that she was precipitated upon that fatal step, and, environed by the deep laid machination of the deceiver, her escape would have been miraculous, yet she continued to struggle, and even at the moment she was hurried away, the beauteous sufferer still vehemently protested against accompanying the wretch, who was armed for her destruction. Clarissa’s error, (if indeed, all circumstances considered, she was ever in any sort reprehensible) must be traced further back; it consisted in her correspondence after the parental prohibition, and in her consenting to meet the treacherous villain. Yet, when we take a view of the motives which stimulated her to those decisive measures, we can scarcely deem her censurable; and she extorts from every bosom that kind of applause, which we spontaneously yield to persecuted merit.

‘Love, in the bosom of Clarissa, was always subservient to virtue. It would never have taken the lead of duty; and, had she been left to the free exercise of her fine faculties, had she been permitted to call into action those rare abilities of which she was mistress, she would have *completely extricated herself from every embarrassment.* Love, in the bosom of Clarissa, was the *noblest of principles*; it was uniformly solicitous for the *genuine felicity, establishment and elevation of its object*; but it would never have permitted her to have allied herself to a man, who could *barbarously triumph in the destruction of that sweet peace of mind, which is the bosom friend of the innocent and of the good; who could inhumanly meditate the ruin of those confiding females who were entitled to his pity and his protection.* Liberated from the resentment of her hard-hearted relations, and moving in that enlarged and elevated sphere to which her matchless intellect and uncommon information entitled her, she would doubtless have investigated. The libertine would inevitably have stood confessed, and would as assuredly have been discarded from her favour. In one word, love, in the bosom of Clarissa, was what I wish, from my soul, it may become in the bosom of every female.

‘The deportment of Clarissa, after Lovelace had so artfully betrayed her into a step which her judgment invariably condemned, has been the subject of much cavilling; she is accused of undue haughtiness; but surely such censurers have not well weighed either her character and situation, or that ambiguous mode of conduct which the despoiler so early assumed. How often did he *hold her soul in suspense*, and how necessary was it for his nefarious purpose, thus to do.’

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